DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 100 786 95 SO 008 078

AUTHOR	Bohannan, Paul; And Others
TITLE	A Preliminary Review of the Intercultural Dimension in International/Intercultural Education, Grades K-14. Final Report. Publication No. 156.
INSTITUTION	Social Science Education Consortium, Inc., Boulder, Colo.
SPONS AGENCY	Institute of International Studies (DHEW/OE), Washington, D.C.
REPORT NO	SSEC-PUB-156
PUB DATE	Jan 73
CONTRACT	OEC-0-72-5152
NOTE	107p.
AVAILABLE FROM	Social Science Education Consortium, 855 Broadway, Boulder, Colorado 80302 (SSEC No. 156, $3.50, prepaid)
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.75 HC Not Available from EDRS. PLUS POSTAGE
DESCRIPTORS	Cultural Education; Curriculum Development; *Curriculum Evaluation; Elementary Secondary Education; Evaluation; Evaluation Methods; *Global Approach; Higher Education; Inservice Teacher Education; *Intercultural Programs; *International Education; Models; Projects; Research Needs; Research Utilization; Social Sciences; Social Studies; *Systems Analysis

ABSTRACT

A conference, sponsored jointly by the Institute of International Studies (IIS) and the Social Science Education Consortium (SSEC), was held in June 1972 to achieve some convergence of thinking on desirable programs for implementing the intercultural dimension in general education in grades K-14 and in the preparation of school personnel. This report, the result of that conference, offers a conceptual base of intercultural study by examining the nature of world society from the viewpoints of an economist, a geographer, a political scientist, and an anthropologist. Intercultural education is defined and seven goals for intercultural education are suggested. Focusing on programs already incorporating an intercultural dimension, the report describes the major existing international/intercultural education models and analyzes them with the Curriculum Materials Analysis System (CMAS--produced by the SSEC). A model for intercultural education is suggested based on the definition and the seven goals developed for intercultural education. The last section lists areas of research that need further exploration and offers a model for evaluation of intercultural programs. (Author/JR)

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A PRELIMINARY REVIEW OF THE INTERCULTURAL DIMENSION IN INTERNATIONAL/INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION GRADES K-14

FINAL REPORT

HEW-USOE #OEC-0-72-5152
dated June 30, 1972

SP 008 078

submitted by
Social Science Education Consortium, Inc.
855 Broadway
Boulder, Colorado 80302
Publication #156

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The work reported herein was performed pursuant to a contract with the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education. Contractors undertaking such projects under Government sponsorship are encouraged to express freely their professional judgment in the conduct of the project. Points of view or opinions stated do not, therefore, necessarily represent official Office of Education position or policy.

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Institute of International Studies
U. S. Office of Education

January 1973

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of Report

A small conference was conducted by the Institute of International Studies (IIS) in Washington, D.C., on May 4-5, 1972. The purpose of the conference was to explore new directions in international/intercultural education, against the background of prior work done by IIS and other organizations, such as the Foreign Policy Association. The agenda included examination of the nature of international/intercultural education and its objectives, what research is needed to fill the gaps about how children are socialized interculturally and internationally; and how students can better cope with the problem of mankind on a global basis. A number of members of the Social Science Education Consortium (SSEC) have long had an interest in international/intercultural education, and several were invited to attend the conference. (See Appendix A for a listing of those who attended.)

A second conference, sponsored jointly by IIS and SSEC, was called for June 26 and 27, 1972. The major purpose of the second conference was to achieve some convergence of thinking on desirable programs for implementing the intercultural dimension in general education in grades K-14 and in the preparation of school personnel. (See Appendix A for a listing of those attending that conference.)

Many good ideas were brought forth during the conferences, and there was a recognition of the need to develop these ideas further. Thus, one of the outcomes of the conferences was a contract made by IIS with SSEC to explore further the intercultural dimension in general education at all levels of schooling from kindergarten through grade 14. On June 30 the Consortium began work on the report that follows.

The report was to contain the following components, as specified by the IIS-SSEC contract:

1) An overview of how the intercultural dimension is currently presented in general education for grades K-14.

2) A review of the research base for the treatment of the intercultural dimension covered in (1) above.

3) A precis of how the intercultural dimension should be handled in general education, as supported by research and the opinions of experts.

4) A review and critique of existing models for treating the intercultural dimension in general education and in teacher education.

5) A preliminary exemplary model for handling the intercultural dimension in general education and in teacher education.

6) A review and critique of existing formative and summative evaluation methods for the intercultural dimension in general education.

7) A preliminary statement on needed strategies for formative and summative evaluation of the intercultural dimension.

8) A listing and brief review of the research results related to the items listed above.

9) A statement on needed research.

It was generally agreed that several members of the Consortium would take the major responsibility for the report, but that a number of other members and some who are not members would act as consultants. As it turned out, four members, two of whom are from the staff in Boulder, assumed the major responsibility for writing the report. Sixteen consultants were asked to help in the early conceptualization of the report; nine are SSEC members, all concerned with intercultural education, and the remaining seven have demonstrated scholarship in the general field of international/intercultural education. In addition, several consultants were asked to comment on a draft of the report. The staff particularly benefitted from a critical reading of the draft by James M. Becker. (See Appendix B for a listing of consultants and their respective institutions.)

The resources made available to compile the report were modest and the time given for completion was short. Therefore the report is, at best, a preliminary effort with many loose ends.

The report is addressed to the IIS, in accordance with the contract under which the study was performed. The authors hope that the report will be useful to the IIS and that it will, through the IIS, contribute to thinking and program planning about international/intercultural education.

1.2 How the Report Was Compiled

Professor Paul Bohannan of Northwestern University wrote a rationale for intercultural education. That statement, contained in Section 2.2, became the basis for much of the subsequent work. Next, the staff defined the topic and developed a set of goals for intercultural education. Then the goals and definition were sent to the project consultants for their reactions. During taped telephone interviews, the consultants gave their reactions to these items. Project staff incorporated those ideas that seemed to fit the growing outline of the report.

During this initial work, Professor Edith King of the University of Denver organized a search for both standard and exemplary intercultural education programs. The search turned up numerous programs, from which a representative sample was chosen to give both the range and depth of the various programs now being conducted in the United States. There were two criteria for selection: first, the materials, ideas, and programs which the authors judged to be best, in terms of the objectives outlined in this report, were selected. Second, a sampling of materials and programs was made on the basis of what was judged to be typical of international/intercultural education. It is clear from the contexts of the descriptions which criterion was used.

The development of an analytical model, for use in examining existing programs in current international/intercultural education and determining inadequacies and gaps in them, had its basis in the Curriculum Materials Analysis System (CMAS) developed by Irving Morrissett and W. W. Stevens, Jr. (1967) of the Social Science Education Consortium. The CMAS was modified and elaborated to suggest all the necessary categories useful in describing the project staff's conception of an intercultural education program.

The staff felt that use (with modification) of a particular model--the CMAS--for analyzing curriculum materials and programs was justified, in view of the scarcity of alternative models and of the extensive successful uses that have been made of the CMAS. The CMAS has been used in many scores of work group and workshop situations, involving thousands of teachers, administrators, curriculum developers, and other educational personnel. It has proved to be a useful organizer for many types of judgments and decisions which school people must make.

The responsibility for identifying examples of research and suggesting some ways to relate them to current and potential intercultural education programs rests with the Boulder project staff. The suggestions for needed research evolved from a diagnosis of the inadequacies of the current research, based on the questions raised in the course of analyses based on the CMAS and its modified forms.

1.3 A Guide to the Report

Section 2.0 contains a conceptual base for the report, in the form of four statements about the nature of world society written from the viewpoint of an economist, a geographer, political scientists, and an anthropologist. Intercultural education is defined and seven goals for intercultural education are suggested.

The next section, 3.0, focuses upon a number of programs that contain an intercultural dimension. The section is organized into four components--programs

for elementary education, those for the secondary level, those that have been developed for teacher training, and those that can be found outside of education (in the military, government, and business).

The model used as a basis for review of programs is developed in Section 4.0. As explained above, the basic model is the CMAS, which has been developed by the SSEC staff and members over a number of years.

Section 5.0 is an analysis and description of what were discerned by the project staff as the major existing international/intercultural education models. These models are analyzed using the CMAS, pointing out their shortcomings and their strengths. In the search for programs and models, the staff found a great many. Most had some overlapping characteristics. None reflected the basic elements contained in the rationale presented in Section 2.0.

In the next section, 6.0, a model of intercultural education is suggested. This is a critical section, and draws heavily on the definition and goals listed in Section 2.0. It is, in a sense, the heart of the report. Following presentation of the models, research that appears to support it is presented. The search was not exhaustive, but project staff feel that the research reported is representative.

The last part of this section is a listing of a number of programs suggested as worthy of support by the federal government, in order to make intercultural education adequate in the United States. Some of these programs are currently in operation, but there is little coordination among them and many of their potential benefits are thereby dissipated.

In Section 7.0 are suggested some areas of research that need to be explored. It goes without saying that all areas of education need increased research bases upon which to make decisions; intercultural education suffers at least as much from this lack as any other part of education.

The final section of the report, 8.0, reviews current perspectives and problems in evaluation and suggests a 14-point model for IIS evaluation work. The major emphases in this section are on the needs to make evaluation more supportive and less threatening, to get broad training and involvement of staff in most evaluation efforts, to define and make more effective the roles of both professional and amateur evaluators, and to establish procedures for assembling information about evaluation information and procedures.

1.4 Acknowledgements

The authors of the report are grateful to a number of SSEC staff persons whose hard work beyond the regular call of duty made it possible to stretch the

limited resources available for completion of this project. Candace Cole and Frank Iannella helped in the early work of conceptualizing the project and researching the literature. Karen Wiley did much of the editorial work on the final manuscript. William O'Connor assisted in the conceptualization, research, and writing on Section 8.0, Perspectives on Evaluation and a Proposed Model for Evaluation. Typing and retyping was managed cheerfully by Janet Lanich.

The authors also wish to thank the conference participants and the consultants, listed in Appendices A and B, for the ideas and stimulation they contributed, and to make appropriate apologies for what may seem to be ignoring, misunderstanding, or otherwise mismanaging their contributions.

Special thanks are due John Carpenter, Intercultural Education Specialist with the Institute of International Education, for his work in bringing together the able group of participants for the May and June conferences and for the many ideas he contributed to this report.

2.0 RATIONALE, GOALS, AND DEFINITIONS

Subsection 2.2 below provides an intellectual base for the project. The stated purpose of the project is to review various aspects of "the international/intercultural dimension in general education." The staff of the project agreed fairly well on a workable concept of "the international/intercultural dimension," but were unable to arrive at a more concise term for it. Therefore, in the interest of brevity, the term "intercultural" has been used to denote what the staff means by "international/intercultural," with the realization that this is not quite the usual connotation of "intercultural." The meaning of "intercultural," as the term is used in this report, will become clear in this section.

It should be noted at this point that the term "intercultural," as used in this report (as equivalent to "international/intercultural"), is not intended to include or pre-empt all of the problems and study areas commonly included under "international." Rather, the purpose is to focus on the intersection of the two sets of problems or events commonly designated by "international" and "intercultural." However, the focus is not limited to this intersection of sets; it includes also a substantial portion of the "intercultural/not-international" set of problems or events.

It is our intention here to de-emphasize the role of relationships among nation-states. Usage of the term "international" has generally stressed the role of nation-states in relationships among groups of people in different parts of the world. Relationships among nation-states are, of course, terribly important in the contemporary world; but the emphasis on these relationships has obscured other very important relationships--those we here refer to as "international/intercultural" or, in shortened form, "intercultural."

Subsection 2.2, A Rationale for Intercultural Education, was drafted by Paul Bohannan and critiqued by the staff. Section 2.1, preceding Bohannan's statement, presents excerpts from the writings of other social scientists during the last six or eight years that point to a view of the world that is similar to the framework which Bohannan calls a "two-story culture." The three statements which are reviewed were written by an economist, a geographer, and a two-man team writing from the viewpoint of political science. It is also notable that a similar analytical framework has been developed from the standpoint of these three disciplines, in addition to Bohannan's discipline,

anthropology. It is also notable that this viewpoint has not yet been incorporated into the conceptual framework and the curriculum base of intercultural education.

Subsection 2.3, Goals of Intercultural Education, is based on subsection 2.2. It was drafted by the staff and subjected to intensive critiquing by the panel of consultants; however, the consultants did not review the final version and cannot be held responsible for it. Subsection 2.4, A Definition of Intercultural Education, represents an effort to compress into a defintion the rationale and goals of intercultural education spelled out in subsections 2.2 and 2.3.

2.1 A New Perspective on World Society: Three Views

2.11 An Economist's View

Kenneth Boulding wrote about "the separation out in the world of two cultural systems, the superculture on the one hand and traditional cultures on the other."

> It is hardly too much to say that all the major problems of the world today revolve around the tension between these two cultural systems. The superculture is the culture of airports, throughways, skyscrapers, hybrid corn and artificial fertilizers, birth control, and universities. It is worldwide in its scope: in a very real sense all airports are the same airport, all universities the same university. It even has a world language, technical English, and a common ideology, science.
>
> Side by side with the superculture, and interpenetrating it at many points, are the various folk cultures, national, religious, ethnic, linguistic, and so on. The tensions between the superculture and traditional cultures are felt at a great many points. We see it, for instance, in the international system, where the superculture has given the traditional cultures of the national states appalling powers of destruction which are threatening the whole future of man. We see it in race relations, where the superculture moves towards uniformity, the absence of discrimination, and differentiation by roles rather than by race or class or other ascribed category. We see it in education, where formal education tends increasingly to become the agent of transmission of the superculture, leaving the transmission of folk culture to the family, the peer group, and more informal organizations. We see it in religion, where the superculture tends towards the secular and traditional culture preserves the sacred.

At a great many points, these tensions between the superculture and traditional cultures produce challenges to traditional values and even disintegration of these values. Family loyalties are replaced by loyalties to larger and more abstract entities; national loyalties are eroded by inconsistencies between the national state and the world order which the supercultural requires; religious loyalties are eroded by new views of man and the universe; political loyalties are eroded by new images of the social system arising out of social sciences.

The picture, however, is not merely one of constant retreat and erosion of traditional values in the facet of the superculture. There is also the transformation and regeneration of traditional values under the impact of the superculture. A strong case can be made, indeed, for the proposition that the superculture itself does not generate the values and preferences which will support it....

As an integrative system, the superculture is really very weak. Fellow scientists kill each other in national wars almost as enthusiastically as coreligionists. Scientists have not raised money very much to help other scientists, and while they have a certain sense of occupational community, this does not usually go much beyond the rather tenuous bond of the professional association. People die for their countries, even for their faith, but very few people have died for biochemistry. Up to now at any rate, therefore, the ethical values of mankind on the whole have arisen out of the traditional cultures rather than out of the superculture. There is something to be said for the proposition, indeed, that it is only countries which have strong traditional cultures and as a result strong ethical systems which are able to create or adapt to the superculture, and that where the traditional culture is weak, the society will have great difficulty in making adjustments to the superculture....

From the point of view of this paper, communism is a curious phenomenon which represents on the one hand a vehicle for bringing traditional societies into the superculture and which expresses many of the values of the superculture, such as education, equality of status for women, the abolition of castes, and so on. On the other hand, ideologically it represents what is really a prescientific view of society, and it results in a curious fixation of the socialist countries on the attitudes and ideologies of the nineteenth century. Ideologically it is a kind of folk science lying somewhere between an unsophisticated folk image of society on the one hand and empirically based

scientific concepts on the other. At certain points, therefore, it may assist, and at other points it may hinder the transition and adaptation of a society to the superculture.

The inability of the superculture to produce adequate values of its own and the adaptability of certain aspects of traditional culture is reflected strongly in the continuing strength of the religious institution in the developed societies. This is nowhere more striking than in the United States, which is at the same time perhaps the furthest advanced towards the superculture and yet is also a society whose history has been characterized by the rise of the numerical strength and power of the churches. What we seem to face in the future, therefore, is a very complex set of mutual adjustments, in which an adapted traditional culture transmitted in the family, the peer group, and the church will create ethical values and preferences which are consistent with the world superculture. If the superculture simply destroys the traditional culture in which it is embedded, it may easily destroy itself. On the other hand, if the traditional culture does not adapt to the superculture, it too may destroy itself. This is a precarious balance, and not all societies may achieve it. The costs of a failure to achieve it, however, are very high, and there is great need, therefore, for widespread self-consciousness about the nature of the problem, and a willingness to put resources into solving it. (Boulding, 1969, pp. 347-50)

2.12 A Geographer's View

Robert A. Harper wrote about "the two equations in social science teaching," contrasting this view with the "culture world" approach, "which assumes the world to be divided into separate divisions on the basis of different culture groups.

(It) focuses on the fundamental problem of each group, which is to live off of its particular piece of earth real estate using the knowhow that has been developed within the social group itself. The analysis of each culture group in its own little world reveals many variations in the equation: different degrees of knowhow, different group values, and different earth environments with which to deal. Comparison of one group with another is most interesting, for all sorts of similarities and differences can be found in the solution to the problems of life: there are important similarities between groups living in very different earth environments, yet there are also important differences between groups in very similar earth environments. All facets of human life - value systems, economic activities,

governmental organizations, social patterns - can be held up for comparative study.

Such a model of the human equation is basic to an understanding of the rationale of most of human history and it is also fundamentally relevant to understanding a very large segment of the population of the earth today. Because, today, for much of mankind - in rural Asia, Latin America, and Africa and even in portions of Anglo America, Europe and the Soviet Union - the problem of life remains a locally-oriented one. It is the earth environment within the local area - often within eyesight of home - that must provide almost all of the basic needs of life. And, despite greater and greater inputs of ideas and technology from the rest of the world, it is still the knowhow of the local group - of its culture and technology - that determines how the problem of the use of local environment will be attacked.

The culture world approach has given us a model for understanding much of human history and a large segment of the earth's population today....

But there is a fundamental difficulty in the culture world approach that cannot be solved by more attention to understanding the rationale of cultures other than our own, or even to more concern with comparison of different cultures. Large segments of today's world do not live according to the cultural-mosaic formula.

The model does not provide understanding of New York, London, Paris, Tokyo, Peiping, or any of the major metropolitan centers of the world or most of the multitude of smaller urban communities in the world. None of these communities expects to support its population from the environmental resources of the local area. Stores or marketplaces abound with products gathered from points all over the earth. In turn, goods, capital, and ideas from these centers move out over the world. In the same way, farmers of the U.S. Cornbelt, the Argentine pampas, Latin American or African coffee plantations, or Soviet collective farms do not expect to produce all of the essentials of life. Rather their plan is to mass-produce as much of a particular high-value commodity as they can for sale in cities and metropolitan centers and elsewhere; then with the money received, to buy from the urban centers the variety of their wants.

Thus, then, there is in the world a second very different man-earth equation; one that had its origins in the limited intercommunity contacts begun long ago and described as a secondary input factor in our local-base model. The mechanism making all of this possible is long-range transportation and communication that has enabled man to connect parts of the world separated by many miles. In the early stages of technology it was caravan routes and, particularly, water routes - both river highways and the oceans - that offered a possible alternative to the local-base solution to man's problem of living on earth. For over these routes goods, ideas, and people could move from one particular earth environment and its human culture to another; there was a

connecting network between the separate culture-tiles. However, because man's technology was so primitive, very little could actually be carried between locally-based communities by human porters, animals, wagons, or sail-powered vessels.

But with the continuing transformation of transportation that began with the Industrial Revolution 200 years ago in Europe, powered by the successive control and increased efficiency of use of inanimate energy sources - first water, then coal, petroleum, natural gas, and now nuclear energy - and the discovery of telegraph, telephone, radio and TV, not only has the time factor between places been reduced, but the quantity of goods, people and ideas that could be moved long-distance has been fantastically accelerated.

The result is the model of the man-earth equation that began with the European sea empires and has spread to Anglo-America, to Soviet Union, and is found in Japan, Australia, and in bridgeheads of cities and commercial producing areas in almost every country of the world. This model depends not on man-land relations within a local area, but rather on connections with other centers in a regional and increasingly, a world-wide network. More and more, this model assumes mass consumption by persons throughout the system and specialized production in particular points within the system. Thus, each producing area has the possibility of supplying consumers throughout the system and, in turn, the producers have the possibility of consuming goods from any other point in the system.

The system radically varies the human equation, for no longer is the population of a particular point in the system bound by the limitations either of (1) the character of the earth environment at that point as a base of support, or (2) the limitations of the thought and technology of the particular culture group. Theoretically, all peoples within the system can draw the best of goods and ideas from any other part of the worldwide network. Thus, points throughout the varied earth environment form the production base for the system and the collective knowhow of all persons in the system provides the capacity to increase the understanding of the environment and its possible use. Knowhow and technology developing within the system even offer the possibility of expanding beyond the limitations of the earth's crust to draw on other bodies in space.

As we have noted, this new worldwide system for supporting human life did not spring forth full-grown in the Twentieth Century. We know that it evolved from the past and that it developed primarily from the Western European Culture World. Perhaps the Roman Empire was an early attempt at such a system, but the equation took effective form first, probably, in the British Empire. And while that empire connected producing areas on all continents, it really organized only a tiny fraction of the possible earth resources. Other European countries developed their own intercontinental networks on a smaller scale and in the United States, a modified form of the European culture, also developed its own version of the new interconnected system by organizing the varied resources

of a continent into a functioning whole and by strengthening its ties to Europe as well. Today, other examples of the interconnected model on varying scales can be seen in the organization of the Soviet Union, and Japan. To an important degree, each country in today's world is trying to develop its own national resources and at the same time to tie into the increasingly developing worldwide connections.

Thus, just as there were many variations on the locally-based culture world model, so are there numerous forms of the long-range interconnected system.

It could be argued that the new interconnected human equation with its long-range connections that now are increasingly of global proportions is just a larger-scale version of the traditional model; modern transportation has simply extended the range of the human resource base; instead of walking distance from home, that range is now global. But there are other differences as well. Traditionally we have thought of the locally-based culture in terms of the organization of contiguous territory - the culture area, the political state, the economic region. But the British Empire with its connections across unused seas presented the beginnings of point-to-point connections across gaps that were not a part of the system. Increasingly, the new interconnected system with its global scale is of that sort. Activity is centered more and more in giant metropolitan foci and modern transportation and communication are primarily of a point-to-point nature connecting the metropoli.

The nature of the interconnected modern world is perhaps best characterized by jet air travel where the traveler boards a plane in one airport and is carried directly high into the sky above the clouds, where he no longer views the world unfolding in front of him as he has in all forms of conventional land transport, and, then, at his destination drops down into another metropolitan center much like the one he left. Increasingly such experiences are not just those between metropolitan centers on a single continent, but between centers throughout the worldwide intercontinental system.

Our world today is made up of two very different equations for human life on the earth: (1) that traditional locally-based culture which depends primarily on the knowhow of a particular small group out of the total population of the earth and on the resources of a tiny fragment of the full earth environment, and (2) the new worldwide interconnected system that draws on the resources of parts of the whole varied earth and, we might add, is building its own distinctive culture by incorporating bits and pieces from the many different culture areas that it touches, even though its European origins appear to be still dominant....

The framework of social science should establish the two different human systems as the basic frame within which to compare and contrast life from place to place or component to component. Parts of the whole of mankind's life on the earth relate to one or the other or both of these two systems.

The two models we have outlined would seem to offer the

basic ingredients of the overall framework. All human life can be viewed as falling within one or the other of the two models and thus, the frame of social science seen as the examination of the two models, their internal variations from place to place and culture to culture, and the juxtaposition of the two basic systems from one place to the other over the earth.

Surely the two systems impinge upon one another. As we have noted, no primarily locally-based community is completely isolated from contacts with the worldwide-interconnected network. Someone from the interconnected system - doctor, missionary, scientist, or tax collector - has entered the community. Eskimos drink tea and carry firearms; primitive Africans raise cotton to sell, or leave the village to work in mines. All of the centers of the worldwide network, not only have contacts today with some fundamentally locally-based communities, but, in fact, have developed out of locally-based communities of the past. Thus, they carry vestiges of locally-based values in their culture - political and social ideas, thoughts about what is "right" and "wrong", about God, about what to eat. The fact that we tend to teach social sciences emphasizing the "cultures of the world" approach, rather than of the two models of human life, is an indication of our locally-based tradition, as is our view of a political state necessarily covering contiguous territory and expecting the primary loyalty of all peoples within that territory.

It can be said that social scientists have recognized the two different systems and already deal with them. We regularly talk of "developed" and "underdeveloped" areas, sometimes using other terms such as "industrial and nonindustrial" or "technologically advanced and technologically less-advanced." But such a division tends to follow the old mosaic tile approach, separating the world into really homogeneous pieces.

The point is that the two different systems are not found side-by-side in the traditional mosaic patterns; rather, the interconnected network has spread over the mosaic touching down in particular points, but not in others. Thus, in any given part of the earth one can find the two different systems in close juxtaposition. In the Congo, most people may still live in the locally-based system focused on their own piece of earth real-estate, but Leopoldville is a city with regular communication and traffic with the worldwide network as are the Katanga copper region and other producing areas. Mexico is both Mexico City, with its rather important position in the interconnected world, and the Indian village, that is only peripherally tied to the world beyond walking distance from the village. In the United States, at first glance, the whole country might be considered part of the interconnected network, but what about the Navajos or even the rural European stock in parts of Appalachia or the Ozarks?

It may appear that the two systems have been largely defined in economic terms. This is because the problem has been seen particularly in terms of two different solutions to the problem of how to live in this world and living depends

first of all upon a system of economic sustenance. But the two systems, as we know, in reality touch on all aspects of man's life. This is easy to see in the locally-based model. There the social group has been largely isolated, so it has had to work out all of the questions of life: what to eat, what to wear, what is right, what is the meaning of life, and all the rest. The easiest index to the problem of isolation is language, where each group in its isolation had to develop its own words for objects common to other cultures.

But, the worldwide interconnected system, too, is more than just an economic system. Language problems must be resolved and there is developing something of a common culture within the system. Interest in jazz in communities throughout the system, or in miniskirts, or in zen or yogi is evidence of this.

The point is that the examination of social science in terms of the overall frame of the two model systems and their juxtaposition gives us a base for understanding either the whole of mankind's life on this earth or of any part of it. It gives us a basis for not only comparison, but for comprehending pieces of the whole, whether those pieces involve either issues or areas. We can use the frame in developing the historical time-dimension as well as in examining the present scene. Within it we can study at any scale: that of the real world of the individual's everyday life, at one extreme, and of the abstract planetary world at the other. (Harper, 1969, pp. 326-31)

2.13 A Political Science View

James M. Becker and Howard D. Mehlinger wrote the following.

Factors that divide one national population from another would seem to be growing relatively less significant, while those that separate groups within nations assume new salience. Today it is possible to percieve the world's population as being organized into horizontal layers of trans-national elites as well as into vertical national units. It is even possible to assert that international elites have regular communication and interactions among themselves that far surpass the intensity of contacts and degree of communication between them and nonelite groups within their own nations.

For purposes of illustration, four types of elite groups might be considered. The "jet set" illustrates an international "social elite." The group is confined to the very wealthy or the favorites of the wealthy; it is characterized by an interest in and time for the pursuit of pleasure. It appears to be a closed group, entrance being achieved either by wealth, marriage to wealth, or some unusual act deserving of social reward. Membership is not limited to citizens of one nation. The activities of the group transcend national boundaries, earning the group its name. If the newspaper accounts can be taken seriously, members of this elite spend much of their time swooping from one major world city to another, shifting scenes constantly while maintaining

the same actors in their play.

There is also an international business elite. Not all businessmen are members; many remain primarily insular, although they too are touched by international interests, as the goods on their shelves will testify. Nevertheless, international business is no longer simply the process of buying and selling goods across national borders. Today American business in particular has expanded abroad to such a point that it is no longer possible to be certain whether the business is a local one or a part of an international combine with headquarters in the United States. Not only do American concerns buy foreign businesses or establish new ones abroad, but they have also invented interesting and unique production mechanisms that resemble practices once common only within nations. Whereas it was once common for large industrial concerns to have many plants scattered across the nation producing components that were finally brought together in one or more final assembly plants, today it is increasingly common for some businesses to ship components for American products abroad for final assembly.

The export of American commercial culture is described in a recent book by the French author Joan Jacques Servan-Schreiber, who concludes that an Americanized Europe will soon become the world's third industrial force after the United States and the Soviet Union. While many Europeans reject American political leadership and vigorously oppose certain aspects of American foreign policy, they are becoming increasingly like Americans: they smoke American cigarettes, attend American movies, watch American television, and shop in supermarkets where they buy frozen and canned foods. Young people in Eastern as well as Western Europe are avid listeners of American jazz and popular music; and even at Communist youth rallies throughout Europe, it would not be thought strange for young radicals to criticize American "imperialism" while sipping "Cokes" or "Pepsis." Of course American popular culture does not always survive in its "pure" form abroad; other nations and peoples often change it in subtle though unique ways in order to make it compatible with local tastes and interests. Nevertheless, the pattern is obvious: Western and particularly American habits, products, and life-styles are exercising a homogenizing influence on the world's diverse cultures.

If all of this has the ring of American economic imperialism, let it be understood that this form of imperialism apparently is accepted by the "natives." Increasingly, other countries--aware that the "gap" is more managerial than technological--send their business executives to the United States for training. American universities are asked to establish business schools in such places as Pakistan and Thailand and to sponsor seminars on economics in Yugoslavia. Throughout the world

exists a managerial elite that marches to essentially the same drummer. An American electronics executive has no difficulty understanding the problems and accomplishments of his counterpart in Japan, West Germany, or the Soviet Union. Although the "First International" established by Karl Marx more than a century ago was intended to unite the "workers of the world" against owners and managers, workers have remained far more parochial in their concerns than have those the Communists sought to overthrow.

Intellectual elites also operate easily beyond the constraints of national borders. In the arts this has long been true. Music and literature have not been bound by time and place, nor have the artists who bring such works to life. A Chopin waltz is still Chopin whether played on an American stage by a Russian or by an American contestant in the Tchaikovsky competition. Jazz is jazz played in New Orleans or in Sofia, Bulgaria. No longer are movies judged according to their place of origin, but rather according to their artistry and the degree to which they succeed in portraying real human problems and concerns. Thus in 1967, for example, "Closely Watched Trains" (Czech), "A Man and a Woman" (French), and "A Man For All Seasons" (American) were all immensely popular with American audiences. Moreover, films themselves are becoming increasingly internationalized, as producers and actors of many different nationalities cooperate in making a single movie. Marcello Mastroianni, Sophia Loren, Julie Christie, Richard Burton, and many others appear in films produced under a variety of national auspices.

The field of scholarship has also undergone immense change. One of the most visible signs of this change is the movement of people across national borders. More than 100,000 foreign students studied in the United States during 1966-67, and more than 24,000 Americans enrolled in regular academic-year programs at nearly 600 institutions in 83 foreign countries in 1965-66. Thousands of additional Americans participated in short-term and study-travel programs abroad that year. In academia it is now considered part of a professor's right--if not his responsibility--to spend some part of his career studying or teaching in a foreign country. While scholars have long corresponded with each other across national boundaries, it is increasingly common for scholars to form a kind of "academic jet set" by periodically attending international meetings and conferences. It was this phenomena that led one wag to announce that a great university is like the Strategic Air Command: it keeps one-third of its professors in the air at all times.

But, more important than this visible gain in face-to-face contacts among scholars from all parts of the world has been the development of a trans-national scientific ethic that binds scientists of all nationalities alike. This body of ideas to which all scholars are

bound rejects a priori reasoning in favor or reasoning based upon empirical research according to widely accepted scientific standards and techniques. Scholars are essentially uninterested in whether the author of a scientific tract is a Christian, a Buddhist, a Moslem, or a Marxist; they are interested only in whether the author conducted his investigation and reported his conclusions according to scientific rules of procedure. If his "faith" has interfered with his investigation, his work will be rejected not on the basis of his faith but on his inability to rise above it as a scientist.

Trans-nationalism characterizes academic life not only in that the scholarly community shares a worldwide ethic, but also in that individual scholars conduct investigations that are largely culture-free. In almost any college or university it is possible to find scientists at work on problems that are of no concern to colleagues in their own institution or perhaps even to scholars in their own country, but are followed closely and with fascination by scholars of other nations. One need only recall the history of research in atomic fission prior to World War II for an illustration of how a particular scientific topic can transcend national boundaries. Moreover, science may be the source of an international language. It is quite possible for two advanced mathematicians to communicate sophisticated mathematical concepts to each other even though neither knows a word of the other's national language.

Internationalism has also affected political elites. Once it was expected that a President should stay at home and mind the national business. Now it has become commonplace for the President to travel abroad to confer with foreign leaders and to receive a never-ending stream of foreign dignitaries at the White House. Candidates for high national office such as the Presidency are judged in large part by their apparent grasp of "international affairs." This sends Presidential hopefuls abroad to visit Bonn, London, Moscow, Rome, Tel Aviv, and many other cities. Moreover, consciously or unconsciously, leaders in high public office are selected in part according to how they will be accepted by other nations.

Chadwick Alger points out later in this Yearbook that international organizations such as the United Nations take on an identity of their own. They become, in part at least, truly international rather than merely an assembly of national representatives. It is not unusual for a delegate to depart from the official position of his government in order to transact "international" agreements. Under such circumstances the delegate perceives the "national" interests of his government as being simply one part of the "international" context.

These four elites--social, business, intellectual, and political--do not exhaust the list of elites that might be named, but they do illustrate the major point: at this time in human history ties among certain peoples

> are as strong across national boundaries as they are within them. Of course, only elites have been described here; by definition vast numbers of peoples--members of nonelite groups--are only slightly touched by the new phenomenon. Yet this very fact, which is equally true of all nations, is in itself a new trans-national reality. The well-educated black African, a member of the political, social, and intellectual elite in his country, may confess that he feels much more at home in London, New York, or Paris than he does in the African village from which he came. So, too, an American intellectual frequently has more in common with his counterpart in Brazil, Germany, or the U.S.S.R. than he does with the backwoodsman or slum dweller in his own country.
>
> It should be added that the process of "trans-nationization" owes its existence not only to new modes of face-to-face contact, but also to modern means of communication, which maintain an incessant barrage of information across national boundaries. Thanks to the communications satellite, the television, and the ubiquitous transistor radio, people everywhere are beginning to tune in to the same wave length: to a growing extent, they have access to the same music, similar entertainment, and--perhaps most significantly--shared anxieties about world political crises.
>
> Americans have only recently discovered the "disadvantaged." Similar "disadvantaged" exist in all countries. The underlying core of their shared disadvantagedness is that they are trapped in parochial cultures that are left increasingly far behind by new, more powerful, internationally oriented cultures. (Becker and Mehlinger, 1968, pp. 2-7)

2.2 A Rationale for Intercultural Education

Education has always been concerned with preparing youth for the future in which they will live, as well as with inducting them into the values and customs of the present. In a static society, the best preparation for the future is knowing how people have best dealt with the past. In a changing society, tensions may arise because preparation for the future may conflict with preparation for living in the present.

In our increasingly dynamic national and world society, we have claimed to be at a loss to know how best to prepare children for the future. We are better at quoting statistics about how fast knowledge becomes obsolete and how different the job structure will be 20 years hence than we are at teaching the new generation how to deal with these phenomena. Our problems related to change are attributable not only to the fact that the pace of social and cultural change has quickened throughout the world; they are also compounded by the fact that most parts of the world are increasingly interrelated through social ties and frictions and through rapid communciation.

Some insights about the nature of our present and future world society are now becoming clear--insights which could make important contributions to the education of our youth today and tomorrow. Although we cannot foresee precise social events to predict exact cultural innovations, we do know that we will live in a plural, "two-story" society with instant communication; and that the task of the educators is to prepare their students to deal with a surfeit of conflicting information in a milieu of cultural plurality and cultural innovation.

2.21 Our Two-story Culture

Young people today, like almost everyone else, live in a two-story culture. There is a large-scale culture, which is shared by much of the world. It has many versions--such as the varieties of democracy, the varieties of communism, and the varieties of third-world socialism--but all these versions interlock into an international, world-wide, large-scale culture.

There is, at the same time, a small-scale world of family and community, mediated by common interest, sympathy, and trust in face-to-face relationships. The many varieties of small-scale culture need not be in touch; they are many worlds, some of them quite isolated from the others. Whether they be tribal, peasant, or urban, they can operate quite independently of one another--so long as they coexist with some version of the large-scale culture, or macroculture.

In differing degrees most of us today live in both the macroculture and in one or many microcultures. All these cultures may be more or less in or out of phase with one another and with the over-all state of the world.

Certainly both the large-scale and the small-scale world have become complicated: the first by sheer size, the second by sheer variety. We must, all of us, learn to deal with the large-scale culture; we may not seek active participation, but we cannot ignore it. We must also deal with the fact that most people today, at least those who live in industrialized society, belong to many small intimate groups or special interest groups, and that these groups are no longer space-bound territorial groups and hence not "local" cultures. So, although a two-part culture is not new, it has been developed to a degree of complexity that demands intricately programmed and self-aware people to live in it with pleasure or even to survive in it.

The large-scale culture--the upstairs culture--is about power. All the versions of the macroculture are interconnected. Men--and increasingly women--

meet in the market place and the polling place, at the conference table and on the battlefield. The political and economic tasks carried on in the macroculture demand large-scale organization to deal with larger groups of people than the world has ever before known.

The small-scale cultures--the microcultures "downstairs"--are about love and trust, or else about special interests like chess, sewing, divorce, or boats. They are not connected--or rather, they are interconnected only by individuals who participate in several of them. They are not interconnected by institutions in which each is a recognizable entity; they do not form parts of any whole. Some are based on religion, some on propinquity, some on a shared technology. Some small-scale cultures are exclusively about race or ethnicity. But today even more are based on the choice or subscription of individuals, and are in that sense "voluntary." The basis for the choice may be rock music and pot or it may be Masonic ritual.

Although the small groups with their microcultures all share a realm of culture--intimacy and security--they are not all versions of the same thing in the way the various versions of the macroculture are all versions of the same thing. One microculture is not, by and large, necessary in determining the shape and content of another. They can go on without each other. But the various versions of the macroculture are closely interrelated, and all have a common interest in a scarce commodity--power.

Obviously, we not only have both the macroculture and many microcultures, but we need both. Consumption aside, the economic and political tasks cannot be done by small-scale groups; welfare aside, providing care, intimacy, and relaxation cannot be done by large-scale groups.

Complaints of minorities are not about the existence of the macroculture, per se, but rather about the fact that some of the people who are most powerful in the macroculture fail to distinguish the values of that macroculture from the values of microcultures. Television, as a medium, is a part of the macroculture; but its programming reflects only a very few of the American microcultures, which is what the other microcultures complain about.

2.22 Education in the Two-story Culture

There are, then, two overriding reasons for distinguishing between microcultures and the macroculture and considering them as the basis of the infrastructure on which we rebuild our schools. One reason is to make sure that everyone can (and is allowed to) negotiate the stairs between the microcultures and the macroculture--and do it equally well in both directions.

The other is to teach people about the nature of the many microcultures, in order to reduce fear of one for the next.

There are several dangers when the two levels of culture get too far out of phase. For instance, the small-scale cultures may be dragged into the world-wide framework of large-scale culture. The activities of the Church in the late 15th century, for example, came to focus on power and provided the backbone of the emerging macroculture. Nations are often built on microcultures, whereupon those microcultures that have no access to the macroculture become "minorities." When power that is derived from a large-scale culture seeks to destroy or isolate microcultures by controlling entry into the large-scale culture, strife inevitably results.

One of the most common strategies for squeezing people out of the large-scale culture is powerful condemnation of their microcultures. On the other hand, sometimes small-scale cultures are isolated voluntarily in such a way that their members are systematically held back from learning the principles of the large-scale culture.

The most characteristic aspect of what is called "The Establishment" is that the people in it have no difficulties with the stairs. They often despise people who do not have the knowledge and ability to pass between the two--and in so doing make matters worse by shutting themselves off from most microcultures. People who cannot pass between the two may perceive, often correctly enough, that the power groups have closed the stairs to them.

Today, many young people--usually referred to as "middle-class" because of the socio-economic position of their parents--can, when they choose, manipulate the large-scale culture very well. But they may consider it immoral to do so; they feel empty, "alienated," because they have been "robbed" of the intimacy of a small-scale culture in a secure, trusted community. The counter-cultures are attempts to create viable and rewarding microcultures, because living only with the large-scale culture is not enough. Yet, living with the small-scale culture alone is not enough either, as most people in most experimental communities come more or less sadly to realize.

2.23 Reducing Distance Between Microcultures

We all know that the melting pot did not, in fact, melt anything. It was a myth for dealing with the overwhelming migration of "foreigners." The early immigrants to the New World were not foreigners to anyone except the Red Americans. Early German immigrants who became the Pennsylvania Dutch were not foreigners any more than were the English Quakers who lived nearby.

But, late in the 18th century, as America was becoming an independent state, she sought also to become a nation in the sense of a cultural unity based on a common history. America was probably the first "new" nation-state--the first to achieve nation-statehood backwards. Whereas Portugal, Britain, France, Spain, and Holland all were nations that founded states, America made herself a state, then had to struggle to make herself a nation.

Except for the Blacks, the American Indians, and those few Orientals who arrived early, the immigrants before 1776 did indeed melt more or less into "old-stock Americans." The number included not merely the British nationalities, but lots of Germans, a number of Scandinavians, some Frenchmen, and a few other Europeans. American nationality was consolidated in the period from 1776 or so to about the end of the Civil War. After that, there were "nationals," so there could now be "foreigners."

All these foreigners had grown up in microcultures vastly different from that of the old-stock Americans, and most were inexperienced in any macroculture. The melting pot was a wishful fantasy--even those who "made it" in the macroculture continued to participate in their microcultures. Some of the excluded microcultures even developed counter-macrocultures, as it were, usually in the form of organized crime. Chronologically, Irish, Germans, Jews, Italians, and now Blacks are at the heart of organized crime. (Ianni, 1972)

Equality in the small-scale cultures, thus, means something very different from what it means in the large-scale culture. It means fundamentally a respect for differentness--eventually without envy and without fear. In these microcultures, we can "be ourselves," enjoy with "our own," trust and refresh ourselves in their warmth, struggle with the eternal problems of birth, sex and death, eat and dance, work, love and hate, to the limit of the human capacity for all these things.

2.24 Intercultural People

And what does recognition of the two-story culture mean for people? It means that we recognize the fact that we already have a lot of people who are competent in the large-scale culture and at the same time in one or more microcultures. It is happening: look, for example, at the variety of interesting people in the televised portion of the Democratic National Convention. There were a lot of intercultural people there, their microcultures showing, but working together in the large-scale culture with determination and universally admired skill.

But what about a new vision to replace the melting pot? The Black Revolution has brought Black small-scale cultures (the "s" is important) to the attention of everyone. Blacks are working to regain the rights in the large-scale culture they almost grasped just after the Emancipation Proclamation, only to have them jerked away from them. Red Power, Brown Power, Greek Power, Italian Power, Irish Power, Polish Power, and Jewish Power. It all means: no exclusion from the macroculture, where power is the game.

Although the "melting pot" never existed in anything except myth and hope, there is no doubt that we do indeed live in a plural society. It is necessary to put a new gloss on "E pluribus unum." It means one macroculture made up of people who live parts of their lives in different microcultures.

But most microcultures are not, strictly speaking, ethnic. They center around the hordes of voluntary associations that industrialized people, especially American, create. Their number is probably a function of mobility.

2.25 Goals for an Intercultural Culture

The size of the world population and the excellence of our communications means that we are necessarily living in a world that is truly fraught with danger--danger to our power structures on the one hand, danger to our tribalism on the other. All of us are running scared and longing for community. So we join the John Birch Society or the counter-culture--it is the same thing. Yet, we are also living in a world potentially fraught with delight; never has such a magnificently wide choice of culture been open to so many people.

The goal for the United States must be to make its two-story culture overt. We must recognize it and learn how to use it for human ends. The large-scale culture of the United States--the culture that accompanies and vivifies our economic and political institutions--must be based on the historically validated doctrines of equality that we are still struggling to achieve. In this context equality means one man-one vote and equal economic opportunity. At the same time we must cherish a whole spectrum of microcultures--a world safe for differences.

There are, we have seen, two major problems in living in a two-story world: communication between the two stories and fear among the microcultures. Obviously, to prepare young people to live in such a world, we have to get our vision straight, our goals secure. The goals are surely obvious: civil rights laws based on equality and justice, "power" for all, and good enough intercultural education for all of us that the differences among microcultures need no longer frighten us.

2,26 Intercultural Education

To live in a society with a two-level culture, the quite specific demands for competence are more pressing than they have been in other societies. Peasant societies, which also have two levels, have professional brokers--stairway keepers. American society had such brokers in the second half of the 19th century, in political precinct captains and the like. To this day, the school to some extent trains the child to act as a broker between foreign parents and the macroculture. (Hunt and Hunt, 1967)

Yet today, brokers as a device or institution for carrying out our intercultural business are no longer adequate. In our "do-it-yourself" culture they can no longer have so important a place. And in our free-enterprise system we now know enough that we no longer trust them.

The only sensible alternative to some sort of broker is for all people who wish to do so to become intercultural people--to be comfortable in their microcultures and have the freedom and the know-how to participate in the macroculture if they choose.

Once we have made this kind of analysis of the scaffolding of society and decided that the most sensible way to handle the problems of the intercultural living is to create self-aware people, we have to be sure that the values underlying our institutions are overt. They are:

1) equality of opportunity for all (in the macroculture);

2) live and let live (within and between the microcultures); and

3) equal access to the stairs between any microculture and the macroculture.

Surely these are neither new nor startling. The astonishing thing is the degree to which we have mouthed such values but never really considered them seriously in guiding our behavior, let alone lived up to them.

2,27 What Intercultural Education Is Not

Perhaps the most important thing that intercultural education is not is anti-patriotic. A great deal has been written about "soft-headed relativity" in intercultural approaches to education. These approaches must be examined.

There are absolutist societies in which cultural diversity is not countenanced. There are pluralist societies in which it is approved. Pluralism has, in the past, sometimes been confused with "cultural relativism"--a much misunderstood concept. Cultural relativism means that in order to make value judgments, the judges must necessarily accept premises that are themselves culture bound. Therefore, value judgments are relative to premises. In the hands of many "liberals" (and, unfortunately, of some anthropologists),

cultural relativism has sometimes been made to refer to the idea that "their way is as good as ours." Such rampant sentimentalism has done extreme damage. The relativist wants to understand the premises behind cultural values, including his own, not approve head-hunting just because "they" do it and "we" should not condemn it.

This leads to another distinction--that between loyalty and chauvinism. Loyalty--including patriotism--means that one is committed to making one's group the best possible group (and that involves admitting mistakes so one can learn from them). Chauvinism means the conviction that the group never makes mistakes, and hence to admit one could be to detract from the group. Chauvinism will soon be discovered by the sensible to be a lie. If patriotism is confused with it, then patriotism is endangered. Intercultural education is no bland liberal sop; it is rather a device for dealing constructively with a plural society so that the virtues of patriotism can be extended, made more viable and less jingoistic.

Several other subjects may haunt intercultural education if they are not described and their relationship to intercultural education made clear:

1) Foreign Policy. Although international education is an important dimension of intercultural education, and although foreign policy demands an intercultural framework--the need to get at two points of view at once--we are not directing our attention here alone.

2) Comparative Education. Comparative education is the study of educational systems in different societies. Cultural considerations are essential in such analyses, but intercultural education, except in studies of some specific schools in which it may be a goal, is not the focal point of such studies.

3) Foreign Language Study Programs. While it is true that one of the best ways to approach learning about another culture is through language, and while it is true that some language programs teach something of the culture of the people who speak the language, nevertheless the foreign language programs do not even begin to cover the field of intercultural education. Indeed, some of the knottiest problems in intercultural education may occur between two groups who think they speak the same language.

Similar comments could be made about other fields of study traditionally included under the rubric "international"--such as International Law and International Economics. Intercultural education has important interrelations with these areas, but is not covered by them.

2.28 A Basic Tactic of Intercultural Education

While intercultural education overlaps the areas just described, it is not identical with any combination of them. The basic tactic of intercultural education is to use many kinds of information about the things we are not, in order to understand what we are. This does not imply a negative approach, or that "we" are a residual category. It implies, rather, that it is not possible to know a thing if you try to learn only that thing. You have to learn about the boundaries of that thing--where it bounds things that are foreign to it--and, most specifically, what "something not like it" is like. A trip to Europe or Africa tells an American as much about America as it does about Europe or Africa. Only when one learns a foreign language can one begin to understand the peculiar greatness of one's own.

Intercultural approaches are not magical. They are, however, very simple. They are a good device for learning several aspects of a thing at once, and therefore learning it better. In order to encompass the intercultural, it is necessary to understand not merely the data of history or literature or home economics, but also to understand at least two ways of evaluating the data. In this process, one learns something about how one evaluates. To take a simple example, consider this hierarchy:

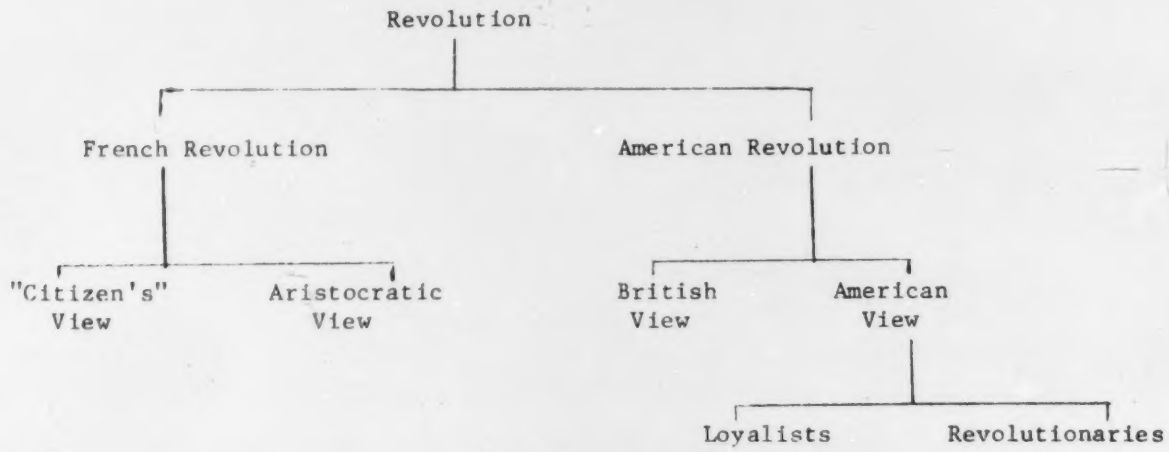

Figure 1

In such a hierarchy, it is possible--by taking two or more views at any one place--to move "up" to a more abstract, less baised view of the nature of the phenomenon under study. A typical textbook view of the American Revolution encompasses only the views shown on the extreme right in the chart. The dominant view is that of the revolutionaries in America. A much richer view

of the American Revolution is gained by comparing the views of Revolutionaries and Loyalists, and of Americans and Englishmen. A broader view of revolutions in general is gained by looking at both the American and French Revolutions.

2.3 Goals of Intercultural Education

Few, if any, of the specific intercultural education goals suggested here are new. The particular combination of goals along with their interrelationships, do form a new configuration of cognitive and affective objectives which we believe to be especially appropriate as a guide to education at this particular time in the development of the United States and of the world.

The goals are arranged in a developmental order. The first goal deals with the development of a conceptual framework for attacking intercultural problems. The next five goals are directed toward changing the relations between the individual and his society. They begin with the most individualistic goal and move in stages to a broad societal goal. The seventh goal is concerned with the provision of experiences most likely to accomplish the first six.

1) A New Context for Understanding Culture. While there is much that behavioral and social scientists have contributed and can contribute to general education, we have selected three areas for particular emphasis. The first in an understanding of the basic concepts of system analysis and the ability to apply these concepts ot physical and (especially) social systems of various sizes, up to and including various global systems.

The second is the relationship between intercultural perspectives at home and abroad. Intergroup problems between major world groups (those arising between nation-states, or between communism and democracy, or between the industrialized and the newly industrializing blocs) or problems between major worldwide categories (such as the races--between Europeans, including white Americans, and Africans; or between either and Eastern Asians, say) have been treated as if they were entirely different from problems that arise within nations (between ethnic groups or special interest groups). There are differences, of course, but much can be gained from looking at neglected similarities.

In the chart below, one aspect of intergroup relations is elaborated--group conflict. There are many insights into group conflict that can be gained by contrasting conflicts between the paired groups or types of groups in the figure.

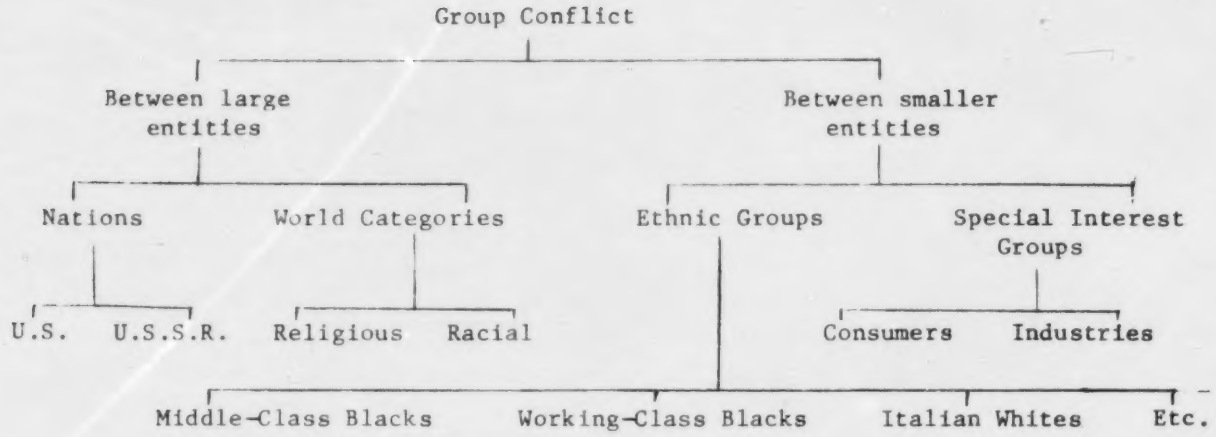

Figure 2

At each juncture in the figure there are similarities among the groups included at the next lower level--and, of course, the differences that allow us to make such a classification. Many more groups and types of groups could be shown by extending the chart.

In an article dealing with a number of aspects of this first goal, Robert Leestma stated that "an effective route for the understanding of world cultures may thus be found at home in direct and deep experiences in the varieties of American culture." (Leestma, 1969, p. 8)

The third major aspect of the first goal is to understand the complexity of the intercultural demands for living in our own society. Not only must we learn to live in a country with many microcultures, but we must teach all the people who wish to do so to move easily between their microcultures and the macroculture--to realize that accepting the macroculture need not mean giving up the microcultures, but rather using parts of each culture in the different groups in which we participate.

2) Awareness of Self. Awareness of self, with a variety of emphases, has been the goal of many educational endeavors. Harold Taylor wrote about the importance of awareness in a world context in The World as Teacher. "By world education," he said, "I mean the way in which each person becomes aware of himself and his place in the world at large, and learns how best to conduct himself in it and to contribute to it." (Taylor, 1969, p. 7)

We intend here a particular kind of awareness, in the context of the conceptual bases of the first goal. This is awareness of self in a world perspective based on knowledge of the commonality of cultural conflicts within and between nations and on knowledge of our two-story culture and conflicts

within it. It would be concerned with the individual's concept of self--in its physical, emotional, and ideational aspects--and with the individual's concept of his interactions with others, his impact upon them, and their impact on him.

3) Awareness of Mankind. Human beings must be aware not only of themselves, but also of the species of which they are a member. Awareness of the species implies respect, appreciation, and empathy among members of it, and acceptance of the traditional values of many societies that call for equality of basic rights and of opportunity. The development of such attitudes has been a common goal of some international and intercultural education in the past. We believe that goal can be approached more rapidly and easily if the effort is based on the conceptual perspective of this report.

4) Ability to Accept, Cope with, and Profit from Cultural Diversity. There are three closely related aspects of this goal. The individual should be able to accept diversity. (Acceptance is the first step in the achievement of the third goal, as much as it is of the fourth.) Diversity in itself is usually not harmful. The harm comes because diversity engenders fear and thus, protective reaction. Fighting cultural diversity is unproductive; it creates alienation among groups and, if successful, it reduces differences which are to a large extent, desirable.

Beyond acceptance, the individual should learn to cope with diversity--to avoid letting himself be hurt by the uniqueness of his own traits and associations, as well as by those of others.

The third aspect is learning that all individuals and groups can benefit from cultural diversity by learning new methods, ideas, and outlooks from others and thereby sharpening their own.

5) Ability to Communicate Clearly and Interact Constructively With Individuals and Groups Having a Wide Variety of Interests and Cultural Backgrounds. Good communication and constructive interaction are essential to the other goals listed here. There are many reasons why individuals and groups have divergent interests and failures in communication. Cultural diversity is an important, although by no means the only, source of such divisions.

6) Ability to Manage Social Conflicts Based on Cultural Differences. "Conflict management" is an extremely useful concept developed by Kenneth Boulding (1962) and others, suggesting that efforts to abolish conflict are fruitless, that management rather than abolition of conflict is a feasible

goal, and that conflict may be turned to useful purposes. In the realm of intercultural relations and in the context of the first goal, management of conflicts based on cultural differences becomes a feasible and creative goal with great social utility.

There are conflicts among interpretations of the world-wide macroculture (ultimately the problem of war and peace). There are also conflicts between groups whose microcultures are at odds (ultimately the problem of civil disorders and riots). Few if any of these conflicts can be resolved or solved, in the sense of being made to disappear. The usual choice is between destructive warfare and some kind of containment. Boulding points out that containment is not necessarily bad and can be useful; he uses the term "conflict management" to suggest a more positive posture than is suggested by words such as "containment," "stalemate," "truce," and "standoff."

One important cultural conflict that must be managed is that between the macroculture and the microcultures. Boulding says that the "world culture... is in profound conflict with all local cultures." Citing education as one important part of the world culture, he notes that education "is subversive of local cultures; but it is not completely subversive of local cultures because the superculture is not a complete culture. The superculture needs the support of local cultures. We have to maintain a stable and well-managed--but intense--conflict between education and local culture...." (Morrissett and Stevens, 1971, pp. 121-22)

Thus there are three major types of conflict: between parts or aspects of the macroculture, between microcultures, and between the macroculture and the microcultures. The perspective of this paper should help to build a basis for managing all three types of conflict.

7) Development and Implementation of an Experiential Base for Intercultural Education. A great deal of money and effort, both private and governmental, has gone into the implementation of international and intercultural experiences at home and abroad. While the idea of an experiential base is sound, many programs have failed for lack of a good, clear rationale for the development of appropriate knowledge, attitudes, and skills through intergroup, intercultural experiences. We believe that a rationale and blueprint can be built on the basic conceptual framework of the first goal which can guide restructuring of old experiential programs and planning of new ones which will be more conducive than previous efforts to the accomplishment of the second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth goals.

2.4 A Definition of Intercultural Education

For the purposes of this project, we define intercultural education as a structuring of learning experiences that will help both students and teachers understand and use concepts for understanding and working toward solutions of individual and intergroup problems--local, international, and world-wide--that arise from cultural diversity. Intercultural education so defined should enhance the learner's awareness of himself, his group, and his country in a world context; it should help him accept, cope with, and benefit from cultural diversity; it should help him communicate clearly and interact constructively with individuals of different culture backgrounds; and it should help him recognize, analyze, and manage social conflicts based on differences in cultural values (including education for peace). To be effective, intercultural education must have a major experiential component, supported by a sound rationale.

3.0 PRESENT STATUS OF INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

3.1 Introduction: Procedures and Major Sources

In Section 3.0 we note some exemplary ideas, projects, courses, and materials that reflect an intercultural dimension in both elementary and secondary school programs and in teacher education programs, whether they occur in specialized courses or in the general curricula offered in schools. We have also tried to point out what are the commonplace techniques for teaching international perspectives and intergroup relations, with some commentary on the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of the processes.

It is interesting to note how often programs and courses that feature an intercultural content have come into existence in geographical areas or regions that are "border" areas, such as Texas, New Mexico, and the overseas dependent schools, or as a result of intergroup tensions such as arise in inner-city areas. These programs generally deal with relationships between microcultures but in some cases also deal with the macroculture--in the case of the city, with relationships that open or close doors to individuals in the various micro-cultures. Thus, where intercultural education is needed badly, it sometimes forces itself into the system.

It is noteworthy that the literature search revealed a number of creative, innovative, and exciting projects and programs with an intercultural dimension. However, the general impression one receives is that these programs and projects are widely scattered, highly disparate, and generally disconnected from each other. The obvious conclusion at which one arrives is that there is an urgent need to coordinate and consolidate intercultural programs across the nation at elementary, secondary, and higher education levels, as well as to add some new perspectives and fill in some of the large gaps.

This review of the literature in the field has been organized in the following manner: the intercultural dimension is examined as it is found in elementary and secondary levels, and in the teacher education of school personnel. The literature has been examined first for specific courses, projects, programs, and activities in intercultural education and then for the intercultural content of general education programs and curricula taken by the large proportion of students at each level--elementary, secondary, and education of school personnel.

The final subsection, 3.5, Other Programs and Sources, comments briefly

on intercultural programs that have been developed outside the formal educational system and from which educators could learn.

The main sources of information for this assessment of elementary, secondary, and school personnel education are:

Institute of International Studies, A Summary of OE-Funded Research Projects and Reports Available Through the Educational Research Information Center, 1956-71, Superintendent of Documents, 1972. (Note that the Educational Research Information Center--ERIC--is now the Educational Resources Information Center.)

ERIC searches performed by the ERIC/ChESS Clearinghouse (for Social Studies/Social Science Education), Boulder, Colorado, specifically for this project.

Resource and Reference Center of the Social Science Education Consortium, Boulder, Colorado.

Resources and files of the ERIC/ChESS Clearinghouse

Conference notes and information from the Institute of International Studies Conferences, Washington, D.C. May and June 1972.

Suggestions and information from consultants and resource persons available to the Social Science Education Consortium.

3.2 The Intercultural Dimension at the Elementary School Level

(Note: Many programs, projects, and activities cover both elementary and secondary levels, categorized as K-12, 7-12, 1-8, etc. This section covers materials primarily for the elementary school levels but there will of necessity be some overlapping with information set forth on the secondary level.)

3.21 Specific Courses, Projects, Programs, Curriculum Materials, Activities, and Publications.

3.211 The Mankind Curriculum. A curriculum for K-12 developed at the University of California, Los Angeles, Laboratory School is outlined in the report, Toward a Mankind School: An Adventure in Humanistic Education, by John I. Goodlad and associates (Goodlad, 1971). It stands as a prime example of the intercultural dimension in education. Based on the following philosophy, it appears to be thoroughly grounded in the intercultural dimension.

> Mankind is the totality of man and his society, embracing in a vast sweep all of his learning, institutions, aspirations and fears, morality and immorality, faith and

> cynicism, the past and present....
>
> One must transcend self, friends, and neighbors in the endless struggle to become aware of and to understand mankind--all people and their institutions, all nations and religions, all cultures and civilizations, past and present, and in anticipation of their future. (Goodlad, 1971, pp. 6-7)

A "mankind school" is based on the application of these criteria to change traditional subject areas and to add new ones in a supporting environment where the teacher is a resource and guide. It uses primary sources, texts, and multimedia to maintain this viewpoint. This curriculum will be more fully described and discussed in Section 5.0, Existing Models of Intercultural Education.

While we consider The Mankind Curriculum to be one of the best sets of materials exemplifying the intercultural dimension, it should be noted that its relevance to this objective does not depend solely on its verbal recognition of the oneness of mankind. Many curriculum materials and guides carry this emphasis. What is required for intercultural education, is expressed to a large extent in The Mankind Curriculum, and is lacking in most curriculum materials and guides, is a great deal of insight into both the commonalities and the differences among subgroups of man--the kind of insight which is a part of the intended purpose of Section 2.0, Rationale, Goals, and Definitions, of this report.

3.212 Social Studies Curriculum Projects. These are projects developed mainly during the 1960s. Overviews and analyses of social studies projects that focus on the intercultural dimension in education can be found through a number of sources. Several of the most pertinent and thorough analyses can be obtained in:

> James M. Becker, editor, An Examination of Objectives, Needs, and Priorities in International Education in U.S. Secondary and Elementary Schools, Chapter III, pp. 111-40. (Becker, 1969)
>
> Social Science Education Consortium, Social Studies Curriculum Materials Data Book. (Social Science Education Consortium, 1971-)
>
> Institute of International Studies, International Education Resources, pp. 17-94. (Institute of International Studies, 1972)
>
> Edith W. King, The World: Context for Teaching in the Elementary School. (King, 1971)

Included in these discussions and overviews are descriptions of a number of social studies materials which have intercultural content, including

Materials and Activities for Teachers and Children (MATCH): TABA Social Studies Curriculum Project, Communities Around the World; Our Working World Series; Man: A Course of Study; Discovering the World, An Adventure in Global Understanding; Intergroup Relations Curriculum, A Program for Elementary School Education; and Project Social Studies, Families Around the World, University of Minnesota, Social Science Units.

The Resource and Reference Center of the Social Science Education Consortium at Boulder, Colorado, houses the developmental materials, background papers, and components of these curriculum projects and others, at both elementary and secondary levels, which include textbooks, multi-media materials, study prints, games, simulations, films, filmstrips, booklets, pamphlets, maps, tapes, et al. In addition to the best known elementary school level social studies projects listed above, the Resource and Reference Center contains curriculum materials with intercultural dimensions developed since the federally funded projects of the 1960s and published by commercial organizations. These materials are analyzed in the Social Studies Curriculum Materials Data Book which is revised and supplemented every six months and published by the Social Science Education Consortium.

3.213 Other Activities, Courses, and Programs. In addition to specific social studies curriculum materials, the literature search covered programs, courses, and activities that can be described as intercultural. The book, The World: Context for Teaching in the Elementary School (King, 1971) recounts such activities in elementary schools around the country. Adding to this coverage, an even more recent publication, Global Dimensions in U.S. Education: The Elementary School, by Judith Torney and Donald Morris (1972), details the teaching of internationalized perspectives at the United Nations International School and in "open schools" modelled on the British infant schools and using an integrated, informal education style.

Torney and Morris also review important studies of international attitudes of children which demonstrate that the period of middle childhood and pre-adolescence is a crucial one for attitude development and the formation of intercultural perspectives. These studies will be cited in Section 5.0, Existing Models of Intercultural Education; they are directly related to the programs and curricula for elementary school children.

The system of overseas schools provided for American military personnel children provides continaul opportunities for intercultural education, beginning

at the elementary school level. The U.S. Dependents Schools--European Area (USDSEA) in particular have a program for elementary and junior high level titled "Moving Outward/Intercultural Education."

In addition to activities and programs based on or stemming from the social studies curriculum materials, occasionally unique, exceptionally creative and innovative studies from other sources were reported. An example of such a study is "A Pilot Study Integrating Visual Form and Anthropological Content for Teaching Children Ages 6 to 11 about Cultures and Peoples of the World; Specifically, the Preparation of a Dance Presentation with Lecture Interpreting Some of the Cultural Values in West and Central African Communities," directed by Pearl Primus, School of Education, New York University, 1968. (Primus, 1968; Institute of International Studies, 1972, pp. 31-32) This project included a pilot study to demonstrate the use of dance as a method for improving and extending curriculum content of world cultures in elementary schools.

3.22 The Intercultural Dimension in General Curriculum Guides for Courses and Programs in Elementary Schools

An investigation of elementary school level social studies curriculum guides from local school districts, counties, and states reveals concern and some attempts to integrate the intercultural dimension at this level. However, as Torney and Morris write in the Global Dimensions booklet, referred to above, there is a need for consistent program planning, developing, evaluating, and revising if significant progress is to be made toward incorporating the intercultural dimension in the general curriculum. Their analysis of a number of general social studies curricula with international content reveals implications and unintentional references that may actually foster anti-international views. (Torney and Morris, 1972, p. 6) This caution on the superficial nature of much of the teaching of cross-cultural perspectives in the elementary school curriculum has been voiced by a number of social scientists and educators.

A number of curriculum guides from the late 1960s and in the 1970s stress the interdependent nature of mankind, the cross-cultural perspective in studying the family and the community, understanding of the basic human commonalities, and the problems of modern society in polluting and destroying its environment. For example, the Proposed Social Sciences Education Framework for California Public Schools, K-12 (California, 1970), features themes from kindergarten through twelfth grade such as Mankind's Distinctive Characteristics; Man and Land; Men in Interaction, Diversity, and Individuality; Man and Systems;

Man, Past and Present; Man as a Decision-Maker; Man, His Goals and Aspirations. Another example of this perspective is a statement of philosophy from a guide of the Chicago Archdiocese, titled Social Stuides: 1970 Instructional Objectives for Grades 1-8.

> As never before in history, we have become aware that we, the human race, are collectively and individually members of a global, dynamic, and evermore rapidly evolving society....The recommendations made by the Archdiocese Social Studies Committee at each grade level are those which emphasize that there is only one human race for the whole planet. (Chicago Archdiocese, pp. 4-5)

Statements of objectives such as the one just cited are not unusual, and the accomplishment of such objectives would contribute to intercultural education. However, there is often a big difference between statements of objectives and what is actually done in the classroom. The report, already cited, by Torney and Morris (1972, pp. 6-7), as well as another report in the same series by Becker and East (1972, pp. 25-26), throws some light on this common discrepancy.

Curriculum guides will be further analyzed under secondary school level materials and in school personnel education as well, since one cannot separate completely these interrelated elements of the educational system.

3.3 The Intercultural Dimension at the Secondary Level

This section includes materials related to junior and senior high school and the first two years of higher education, that is, grades 7-14.

3.31 Specific Courses, Projects, Programs, Curriculum Materials, Activities, and Publications

The major work in this area, with emphasis on secondary education, still is to be found in the Becker-Anderson report (Becker, 1969). Although the report focuses mainly on international perspectives in education, position papers and analyses of course content discuss curriculum reform strategies in the teaching of world affairs, education for the concept of a global society, designs for world affairs courses, and building an international component into the high school social studies curriculum. The report analyzes social studies curriculum projects in an outline of categories under two major headings, "Man As A Species" and "International Society." A review of existing and needed research on the development of international orientations during childhood and adolescence is a component of the report as well. (Some of this materials is cited in 7.0 of this report.)

The booklet, Global Dimensions in U.S. Education: The High School, by Becker and East, brings the Becker-Anderson report up to 1972 to some extent. Becker and East review in depth the proposed K-12 social sciences framework prepared by the California Statewide Social Sciences Study Committee. (California, 1970) They describe the California effort as involving more than two hundred social scientists attempting to formulate a model emphasizing inquiry processes, grouped into three differing modes of thinking: analytic, integrative, and valuative. (Becker and East, 1972, pp. 3-10)

Becker and East's booklet also contains a survey of international studies in secondary schools, which they undertook during 1971. Results from a questionnaire showed that international studies education frequently takes the form of courses titled "international relations" or "politics." The courses are generally political in nature, focusing on what can be identified as traditional concerns of the field. These courses are taught almost exclusively in the 11th and 12th grades to students who are likely to go to college, are above average in ability, and are from other than the lower socio-economic levels. (Becker and East, 1972, pp. 14-25)

The last section of the booklet takes up social science curriculum projects and discusses possibilities for change and reform. (Becker and East, 1972, pp. 25-38)

3.311 Social Studies Curriculum Projects. A number of resources are available for obtaining analyses of the intercultural dimension in social studies curriculum projects. We have already noted the Becker-Anderson report (Becker, 1969), the Global Dimensions booklet by Becker and East (1972), and the Social Studies Curriculum Materials Data Book of the Social Science Education Consortium (1971-). Another excellent source is: Materials for Civics, Government, and Problems of Democracy: Political Science in the New Social Studies by Mary Jane Turner, published jointly by the Political Science Education Project of the American Political Science Association, the ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education, the Center for Education in the Social Sciences at the University of Colorado, and the Social Science Education Consortium.

3.312 The Center for Teaching International Relations (CTIR). This Center, located in the Graduate School of International Studies, University of Denver, aims to help teachers of social studies, humanities, and science bring a more creative approach to their teaching and at the same time include the international dimensions of their subjects. Materials and teaching strategies

can be supplied by CTIR on such topics as conflict, race, revolution, nationalism, authority, economics, ecology, intervention, international order, modernization and development, and science and technology, and on areas such as China, Latin America, Africa, and the Middle East. CTIR describes its activities as follows:

> Publishes a quarterly newsletter that reports on new programs in the teaching of international relations at the secondary level; publishes semi-annually "Global Dimensions" aimed at providing teaching strategies and new content materials to strengthen international relations curricula; operates a materials distribution center for Colorado, Wyoming, Kansas, New Mexico, Utah, Oklahoma, and Nebraska; holds institutes for secondary teachers on Comparative World Politics; and supports research, basic conceptual thinking, and curriculum development in the field of secondary level teaching of international relations. (Statement submitted for this report.)

CTIR has been commissioned by the American Political Science Association to survey secondary social studies project materials for international content. Entitled Global Dimensions in the New Social Studies: A Survey of Selected Secondary School Social Studies Projects, this project will provide administrators, curriculum coordinators, and classroom teachers with a guide to planning course work. It will indicate to them possibilities for globalizing existing curriculum materials using the international content of the new social studies. Fifteen national social studies projects are surveyed, as well as twenty-five simulation games for teaching the international dimension at the secondary level. The study is to be published in 1973 by the ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education and the Social Science Education Consortium.

3.313 Games and Simulations. Particularly at high school and university levels, educational games and simulations have proven effective in presenting materials, concepts, and theories in international education, in civics and government courses, and in the area of intergroup relations. Such games and simulations include Inter-Nation Simulation, Election Game, Career Game, Legislative Game, Disaster Game, Blacks and Whites, and Culture Contact.

The game Culture Contact, developed by ABT Associates for grade levels 7-12 is particularly interesting for the purposes of this report. It simulates the potential conflicts and misunderstandings between two peoples of widely differing cultures. In this game, students assume various roles within one of the two cultures and then interact with one another and with the group. Students

are expected to see the importance of communications and interaction between cultures. The objectives of the game are to give students insight into cross-cultural behavior patterns, breakdown of communications between cultures, and the problems that develop when there are language barriers between peoples. (This game and several others mentioned above are analyzed in Social Science Education Consortium, 1971-.)

3.314 Student Exchange Programs and Study Abroad. Although the majority of student exchange programs function at the college level, there are several programs that arrange situations for high school students to live and study abroad. The best known of these programs are conducted by the American Friends Service Committee and the Experiment in International Living. These programs will be discussed further in Section 3.4, on school personnel education.

3.315 Other Activities, Courses, and Programs. At the secondary education level there are and have been extensive numbers of programs, activities, and projects reflecting international and/or cross-cultural perspectives. The ERIC searches provide the following ones which seemed particularly noteworthy.

Project C.U.E. (Culture, Understanding, Enrichment), an experimental project designed to increase cultural understanding and enrichment in the educational programs of high schools. Guide books for the project list audio-visual media to introduce wide coverage of topics in the study of principal world regions. (CUE, 1964-68; Institute for International Studies, 1972, pp. 18-19)

Intercultural Education Series: An Introduction to Selected Latin American Cultures, a series of publications sponsored by the Programa De Educacion Interamericana, 1967-70. These publications are designed to enrich and strengthen the knowledge and understanding of Texas teachers and students in the field of intercultural education and to produce a new strategy for education which will foster and enhance cultural empathy. (Hubert, 1967; Institute of International Studies, 1972, p. 146)

Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers: Hearings--House of Representatives, February, March, and May, 1970. This report includes testimonies of various concerned ethnic group leaders and educators. This program was included in the Higher Education Act passed by Congress in September 1972, for which no appropriations have been provided as yet. (Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers, 1970)

The purpose of these centers is to provide a program to improve the opportunity of students in elementary and secondary schools to study cultural heritages of the major ethnic groups in the nation and to gain greater appreciation of the multi-ethnic nature of the American population.

Activities of these centers will, if funded, include:

1) developing curriculum materials for use in elementary and secondary schools which deal with the history, geography, society, economy, literature, art, music, drama, language, and general culture of the group with which the particular center is concerned, and the contributions of that ethnic group to the American heritage;

2) disseminating curriculum materials to permit their use in elementary and secondary schools throughout the nation; and

3) providing training for persons utilizing or preparing to utilize the curriculum materials developed.

3.32 The Intercultural Dimension in General Education Courses and Programs for Secondary Schools

Curriculum guides from local and county school districts and state departments of education were examined for the intercultural content of offerings at the secondary school level. It was found that the major emphasis on intercultural dimensions naturally fell in the social science courses, such as World History, Behavioral Sciences, Humanities, and World Culture. Occasionally art, music, literature, and English courses offer some intercultural perspectives; also a few foreign language offerings, where the culture and geography of the country in which the language is spoken is examined. Otherwise, courses in the high school general curriculum, such as Business Education, Family Life Education, Mathematics, Physical Education, Science, and Vocational/Industrial Arts offer no aspects of intercultural education.

In general, the extent of the intercultural dimension in social science course offerings is limited, as shown by examination of the policy or position statements of a number of social studies curriculum guides. Here is an example of such a statement of an educational position which completely ignores the international/intercultural content in social science courses:

> It is the basic intent of the Advisory Committee in developing this GUIDE that the subject matter content of a school's curriculum be used as a vehicle for the formation of concepts. The committee is convinced that the ultimate goals of the social studies curriculum should be stated and evaluated in terms of concepts and generalizations rather than in blocks of knowledge or factual information....

> The selection of content remains the challenge of the teacher and curriculum maker....It is logical to assume that the content selected will utilize local conditions, experiences, and resources of both the teacher and student. (Underlining added.)

In the entire guide of over 50 pages, there is only one mention of man's cultural diversity as evolving from differing sets of values and beliefs. This guide covers the disciplines of anthropology, economics, geography, history, political science, psychology, and sociology, yet from reading its pages one would never know we live in a multi-cultural world society.

The following three sub-sections, prepared for this report by Professor Paul Bohannan, examine in more detail the teaching of anthropology, history, and area studies in the schools.

3.321 Anthropology in the Schools. Anthropology, as a subject, is not in the primary and secondary schools. At least, it is not recognized. The significant exceptions are Man: A Course of Study, materials of the Anthropology Curriculum Study Project, and the materials developed by the University of Georgia. (Social Science Education Consortium, 1971-) However, materials derived from the work of anthropologists are widely used in both primary and secondary schools--usually in social studies or literature courses, but they may turn up anywhere. Material on the pygmies, the Bushmen, the American Indians, and the Eskimo are the most common. What emerges from the use of these materials is seldom anthropology in any form recognizable to the professional. Indeed, the morality with which the subject is used is sometimes in doubt. A year or two ago, an anthropologist was discussing use of ethnographic materials in the classroom with a workshop of junior high teachers. One of the teachers stated "Their way is as good as ours." The anthropologist asked the requisite, "for what?" Her immediate reply was "for them." Her out-of-awareness use of anthropological materials was as a distancing mechanism; at the same time she was trying consciously to inculcate the liberal ethic as she understood it. Seldom have anthropological data been so perverted. Thus, many anthropologists are of the opinion that public education, in the media, about the nature of non-Western life should proceed much further before anthropology is introduced into the schools. The membership of the large and influential Council of Anthropology and Education is of a different opinion; many of its members are creating what they call "minorities curricula," but little of it has so far been published.

There are several discouraging problems to be overcome--discouraging because they are built into the most praiseworthy fabric of society. For example, one of the great sources of misinformation about American Indians is the Boy Scout Manual, in which the Indians are seen not for themselves, as they were and are, but as a kind of romantic ideal that never existed and never will.

Good anthropology can provide materials that both students and teachers like to work with. Especially pre-adolescent and early adolescent people--from about 7th grade through 9th or 10th grade--are in the process of making a great many decisions about the way they will run their social and personal lives. Anthropology is a magnificent source of information about the ways other peoples run their lives, so that the settling out of their own can, for each student, be done on the basis of much wider information. This does not mean that the students will choose life styles that are foreign to their culture (although their culture may offer them some which are foreign to their parents' culture)--for they cannot. It means that they can come to terms with the choices they have to make, and do it more readily and comfortably. These choices, which deal with personal relationships, the way in which power is dealt with, sexuality and family commitments, and choices of jobs and schools, are all made easier when they are set in a cross-cultural context.

3.322 History in the Schools. American history is a required subject, almost always at two points in a young person's school career. The traditional time is 7th or 8th grade ("get 'em just before they drop out") and 11th grade ("get 'em just before they turn sixteen and can leave"). The teaching materials on American history are vast. The sources from which teachers can prepare additional units for their own classes seem almost infinite. Yet, almost all of them have one common fault: American history is taught sui generis--the only thing that most of the textbooks go into to set American history in context is the Immigration Act or something like it. American development is not set into world development. The students are then told, by implication if not directly, that America is a leader among nations. Even the newspapers repeat that. The result is to create a basic ethnocentrism that blinds Americans to their rightful place in the history of the world.

But World history does not come off much better. The text materials in World history have an "additive" approach: world history is considered to be only the sum total of all the regional histories.

Thus the available materials tend to leave out the most important aspects of both American history and World history. There are evolutionary and historical patterns of growth in which the entire world, and world society, is involved. Each region, however it may be delineated develops in its own way--but not at random. There is a general pattern within which such development has taken place. The history of the United States, then, has its own way--its own style--within this general pattern of development. If we do not teach both the generality of human development and the specific genius of the American people in dealing creatively with universal problems, we are shortchanging both humanity in general and our own humanity.

Without an intercultural approach, American history is monolithic--and in this ethnically most unmonolithic of countries. It is not enough merely to introduce special materials on black history or the history of some other "minority" group. The term "minority" itself has to be questioned, and the concept of ethnicity and multi-ethnicity--indeed, the concept E pluribus unum itself--must be reexamined by the young people who are going to be living with it.

Exactly opposite, World history is taught as polylithic when it is world history that is the monolith. It has great variety, nevertheless it is one story, and only an intercultural viewpoint can make a good realization of that fact possible. Only if we recognize an intercultural viewpoint overtly can the unitary nature of world history be seen without distortion by taking one of the world cultures as a starting point. Obviously, writing in English for American readers means that we must take up a point of view; but the intercultural approach makes us constantly appraise that point of view so that we turn out to be teaching American viewpoints on world history--but overtly, hence learning something about America and how it is the same and how it is different. In short, an intercultural approach will highlight, for Americans (or anybody else), who we are, how we got that way, who our congeners are and how they got that way, the problems that we must solve in common, the things we can agree to disagree about, and the things that we disagree about at the world's peril.

3.323 Area Studies in the Schools. In the years after World War II, coming to a peak in the early 1960s, much research in social science and humanities was carried out within the framework of "area studies." Scholars became specialists not only in their disciplines, but in specific parts of the

world. As a device for creating interdisciplinary people, area studies is a very good one. As a device for teaching, it is less salutary, because it tends to treat areas of the world as "specialities" and not to integrate the results with the rest of what the students learn, so that the information about the area in encapsulated. As units within courses, area-oriented studies are probably quite good; as courses, they probably are less effective for the main reason that few students want to spend that much time on a single area.

3.4 The Intercultural Dimension in the Education of School Personnel

The term "teacher education" is commonly used to refer to the education of school personnel. Often the term refers just to the education of persons for classroom teaching, but the same term is also commonly applied to the education of individuals who will assume other school roles--in particular, the roles of administrators and consultants. While much of the material to which we refer in this and other sections is directed toward "teacher education," without specification of whether the target is only classroom teachers, we will use the more inclusive term here--"education of school personnel," or "school personnel education."

3.41 The Taylor Report

The World and the American Teacher: The Preparation of Teachers in the Field of World Affairs is a study of the American Association of Colleges of Teacher Education. It is also published as the book, The World as Teacher, by Harold Taylor. (1969) This is the most comprehensive review of the international dimension in school personnel education. It also touches upon many aspects of the intercultural dimension in general education, although its main focus is international education.

Beginning in 1966, Harold Taylor and his staff of six visited a cross-section of 52 colleges and universities where teachers are prepared. Categories of institutions visited included small, large, rural, urban, private, and public, in each region of the U.S. The two-day visit at each institution included conferences with faculty members in education and arts and sciences, visits to education classes, conferences with students in school personnel education programs, and conferences with administrative officials. The study staff also reviewed the existing literature in the field, and conferred with educators, government officials, students, United Nations personnel, and others concerned with the field of teaching world affairs. Also, two conferences were held during 1966, in connection with the study, that included students and school

personnel educators.

3.411 General Practices and Content of School Personnel Training Programs. Taylor characterized ongoing practices at three levels on a scale of descending vividness and intensity of experience for those learning to teach and to understand the reality of cultures other than their own. The three levels are: (1) Direct participation in the life of another culture by residence in it for at least a year, including interaction with the members of the community, learning the language, and working directly with other teachers and parents of children in the schools. Some examples of this type of program are: Junior Year Abroad, Operation Crossroads Africa, the Experiment in International Living, World University Service, and International Voluntary Service. (2) Direct contact with members of those cultures in situations in which Americans and foreign students or teachers can learn from each other. Here Taylor gives examples of the Peace Corps, and suggestions for exchange between the Peace Corps and VISTA. Taylor really discusses here what he would like to have happen, rather than specifically what is going on. (3) Regular coursework in non-Western cultures and foreign languages taught by American professors who have studied abroad or have gained competence in the field through study at home in graduate programs. Taylor encourages use of television, films, and tapes of all kinds for the study of foreign cultures. He says this is still a relatively undeveloped area in teacher education, but progress is being made at, for example, Stanford and Antioch. (Taylor, pp. 147, 148, 153)

3.412 Assessment of Teacher Certification Status in the International/Intercultural Dimension. Taylor's general conclusions from assessing state departments of education on teacher certification requirements are found on pages 198-199 of his report. He concludes that while there appears to be no inclination toward granting blanket credit for Peace Corps service or similar experiences there is a general acceptance of the validity of such requests. Through various methods, Peace Corp returnees and others with foreign teaching experience can receive academic recognition for their work abroad. State officers and most professional educators assume that some actual teaching experience in the American schools and some knowledge of the history and philosophy of American education is a necessary prerequisite for certification no matter what other kinds of experience a teacher-candidate may have had. There had not yet been any general tendency for certification agencies to take initiatives in changing requirements in order to encourage new work in the international sector. The certification officers did not believe that state

requirements were blocking educational progress, but that the colleges and universities did their own blocking by the way they made and applied their own requirements.

3.413 Suggestions of Particular Relevance to the Intercultural Dimension. Appendix E of Taylor's book presents general and specific recommendations which are particularly relevant to this report. He recommends that the study of world affairs not be considered a special area in international relations and world history for those being trained to teach in the field, but that the content of the entire undergraduate curriculum--particularly in the social and behavioral sciences and in the humanities--be revised to reflect a world point of view of man and society and to involve all students in ideas, materials, literature, and comparative studies from the cultures of the world. (p. 301)

Taylor suggests that state departments of education shift from regulation of certification of teachers as their primary role to planning and initiating new programs in international study both abroad and at home, including development of relationships with schools, teacher colleges, universities, and ministries of education in other countries. (p. 302)

Taylor also recommends that wherever there are programs and organizations with international connections, such as government bureaus, AID, Overseas Schools, the National Science Foundation, the National Institute of Mental Health, and UNICEF, a component of teacher education be included in the existing structure. International teaching centers also should be established on American campuses with exchange arrangements and other ties with institutions abroad for educational research, international curriculum making, practice teaching, and teacher education. Further, the content of professional education courses should be revised to include the study of foreign cultures and educational systems as a central component, coordinated with study and practice teaching abroad and the expansion of connections between American and foreign schools, teacher education institutions, and universities. (p. 302)

3.42 The Becker-Anderson Report

Chapter Five of the Becker-Anderson report, An Examination of Objectives, Needs, and Priorities in International Education in U.S. Secondary and Elementary Schools, is entitled "Teacher Education Within A World System." This chapter reiterates many of the findings and recommendations of the Taylor report. The crucial need for teacher education to incorporate international dimensions is discussed and underscored. Guidelines for future programs in internationalizing teacher education are set forth. The chapter closes with the statement:

> In the final analysis the success of an international emphasis in America's colleges and universities will depend on the creation of a new educational environment able to foster a more enlightened and perceptive outlook on the part of all who participate in it: the teacher, the undergraduate, the graduate student, the college professor, and the plain but new-fashioned American citizen, a citizen with a world view. (p. 246)

3.43 Global Dimensions in U.S. Education: The University

This booklet, by Maurice Harari, published by the Center for War/Peace Studies (1972), surveys the status of international education at the university level as of 1972, describing the setbacks of reduced financing of the later 1960s and the 1970s. Harari discusses the semantics of international education as well, examining the use of the terms "international-intercultural," "cross-cultural," and "transnational" as applied to programs at the graduate international studies level.

Although this booklet does not specifically discuss the intercultural dimensions of school personnel education, the author makes an eloquent plea for this component in the curriculum when he quotes Vernon L. Cheadle:

> A university in these times can only be considered a true university if its students and faculty are aware of the complex and manifold nature of the world and its peoples. The universities must, therefore, accept and welcome a commitment to this international frame of reference, and they must do so consciously as a means of realizing their fullest potential. They must accept the view that their students and faculty are not limited only to their country or region but belong to the whole world. It is only when they accept this international commitment, with all of its implications, that they can achieve the third and perhaps most important role of a university, which is the ability to serve the worldwide community. (Harari, p. 41)

3.44 Projects and Exchanges for Education of School Personnel

Our search of the ERIC files revealed an extensive listing of education programs programs and projects for school personnel, going back to the 1950s with the NDEA and EPDA institutes and programs. The following are some of the most current and particularly appropriate projects that reflect the intercultural dimension. The ERIC identification numbers are given with each of these references here, and they are not cited in the list of references at the end of this report.

Tri-Cultural Sensitivity In-Service Training Program. Bernalillo Public Schools, New Mexico, 1970. ED 051 328.

A series of inservice workshops was offered in 1970 to help school personnel of this school district develop a fuller knowledge and understanding of the three cultures of the area--Mexican American, Indian, and Anglo--and thereby enhanced communication and ability to meet the needs of the students.

An Exchange Program in Teacher Education. University of Connecticut and Keswich Hall College, England, 1968-70. ED 051 103.

This program enabled students in the School of Education at the University of Connecticut to student teach and act as teacher aides in British primary schools.

An Exchange Program in Teacher Education. Eastern Michigan University and Berkshire College, (England) 1966-70. ED 053 060.

This exchange program included both faculty members and students in the departments of education of the two schools.

Program Development Project in International Teacher Education. Towson State College, Maryland, 1971. ED 053 061.

The department of early childhood teacher education at Towson State College has completed phases of program development in studies abroad in four countries--England, Israel, Mexico, and Australia. The phased program involves both faculty and student exchanges.

Improved Teacher Training Through Dimensions of International Education. University of Alabama, College of Education, on-going. ED 038 336.

This program involves student teachers, doctoral interns, overseas personnel, in-service teachers, and administrators in educational experiences in schools overseas providing a multi-cultural environment for affective learning. These programs are particularly concentrated in bi-national schools in Latin America.

Student Exchange Program. District of Columbia Teachers College, Washington, D.C. (inner-city) and State University of New York, Brockport (suburban), 1969. ED 037 418.

The exchange offers senior year student teachers an opportunity to live and work in a community with which they previously have had little experience, in order to promote intercultural and interracial understanding.

Teaching Alaskan Native Youth. Alaska Methodist University, Anchorage, 1970. ED 045 588.

Local legends and folklore were collected for use in the classroom to teach English as a second language.

Cross-Cultural Encounters in a Latin American Bank. Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, 1970. ED 040 120.

This unit is one of a series of cross-cultural mini-dramas and is offered as the prototype audio-visual unit of the cross-cultural communication packet. The objectives are to provide insight into the process of cross-cultural communication and to develop observation skills. This will enable the student to recognize symptoms of miscommunication and ethnocentrism and thereby utilize cultural shock for positive results.

The Investigation of the Use of Photodocuments in the Teaching of the Languages, Cultures, and Civilizations of the Near East. Pratt Institute, Brooklyn, New York, 1970. ED 041 269.

A study was made of the need, role, and availability of photodocuments in teaching the languages, cultures, and civilizations of the Near East. There was an overwhelming consensus that appropriate photodocuments (slides and photographs) were essential in teaching Near/Middle Eastern Studies.

Another program of interest, not yet reported in ERIC, is Chinese Humanities: An Inquiry into New Approaches (CHINA). A survey project for public school teachers at the secondary level. Temple Buell College, Denver, Colorado, 1972.

The project's objectives are (1) to mobilize the talents and resources of China specialists, educational scholars, and teachers for the creation of improved teaching materials and techniques dealing with China and (2) to disseminate such skills and materials to a representative body of secondary school teachers in the Denver, Colorado, area. The CHINA project hopes to develop and implement new China-related curriculum materials as well as create stronger teaching resources in Chinese studies in the secondary schools. At the core of the project will be the utilization of key teacher resource personnel in both the development and the dissemination of innovative information and techniques.

3.45 Books, Reports, Journals, Files, Etc.

The field is replete with volumes on international/intercultural education, in addition to items cited above. Here are a few noteworthy listings from the ERIC files:

Directory of Multicultural Programs in Teacher Education. Richard L. James, compiler. Washington, D.C.: American Association of Colleges of Teacher Education and ERIC Clearinghouse in Teacher Education, 1971. ED 055 964.

Outlook. Boulder, Colorado: Mountain View Center for Environmental Studies.

Articles deal with teacher education from countries and cultures around the world and in the United States. ED 052 070.

The Implications of Bilingual Education for Developing Multicultural Sensitivity Through Teacher Education. Miles Zintz and others. Washington, D.C.: ERIC Clearinghouse in Teacher Education, 1971. ED 054 071.

Opportunities Abroad for Teachers, 1971-72. Washington, D.C.: Institute of International Studies, Office of Education. ED 042 730.

Job Corps: A Resource for Teacher Education. Washington, D.C.: American Association of Colleges of Teacher Education, 1969. ED 037 424.

The Human Relations Area Files. Compiled by George P. Murdock and others. New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University, 1961-69. Many of these materials are available from ERIC and from Taplinger Publication Company, 29 East 10th Street, New York, New York 10003.

Journal of Ethnic Studies. Bellingham, Washington: College of Ethnic Studies, Western Washington State University, starting winter 1973. This will be an inter-ethnic and multi-disciplinary quarterly primarily devoted to the history, literature, art, and social and cultural institutions of Asian Americans, Blacks, Chicanos, and Native Americans. (Not in ERIC.)

3.46 Tools For Looking at and Findings Related to Intercultural Education of School Personnel

Some fruitful research has been done on ways of facilitating interaction between members of different microcultures. The work cited here was directed mainly at problems of attitudes and attitude changes related to the education of school personnel, and therefore is included in this section of the report; but it is also relevant to Section 6.2, Research.

Frank Koen, at the University of Michigan, has outlined specifications for the design of a test of knowledge of foreign cultural patterns. (1971) He presents the general outlines of a test at the college level for a monolingual speaker of a culture to display his general understanding and knowledge of another (target) culture. The test has three classes of items:

1) items designed to measure the individual's knowledge of how to conduct himself in everyday situations in the target culture,

2) items that probe the individual's understanding of general patterns of social interaction in the target culture,

3) items that assess the individual's ability to adopt the world view of the target culture. The test would be conducted in the student's native language, so it would not be necessary to judge his competency in a foreign

language. The aim of the test would be to assess the individual's ability to see the world through the eyes of people who differ significantly from oneself.

Implications for use of such a test in helping individuals to interact across microcultures is obvious. If we began training students to succeed in such situations, whether they speak the same language or not, we could make large strides in the intercultural dimension in education.

Search of the ERIC files brought forth several attempts to assess changes in values and attitudes on the part of school personnel in the program or project analyzed. This research has implications for ways to deal with microcultures and the macroculture. ERIC identification numbers are given with each of the following references, and they are not cited in the list of references at the end of the report.

A Comparison of Characteristics of Teacher Education Students in the British Isles and the United States, Toledo (Ohio) University, 1965 ED 003 342.

A comparison of preservice teahcer education students was performed in the areas of (1) teacher attitudes and personality characteristics, (2) general educational preparation, (3) professional education knowledge, and (4) general intelligence. About 5000 elementary and secondary education students in the United Kingdom and the United States received a 12-hour battery of standardized tests. The results indicated that education students in the U.S. were more traditional than their British counterparts, who were more permissive and child-centered in their approaches to teaching.

Open-Closed Mindedness of College Students in Teacher Education, James Shaver, Utah State University, Bureau of Educational Research, 1969 ED 016 303.

Research was conducted regarding the open-closed mindedness (dogmatism, authoritarianism, and rigidity) of teacher education students in the U.S. and Germany. A correlational study was made of F-Scale, Dogmatism scale, and Gough-Stanford Rigidity Scale scores of three social studies methods classes at one university in the U.S. and of German students in three institutions. Results showed that religion was an important sampling variable, but that age, college, class, sex, and commitment to elementary or secondary education had little effect on open-closed mindedness.

External Evaluation of the EPDA Worldmindedness Institute, O.J. Harvey and E.W. King, University of Denver, 1969. ED 042 674.

An evaluation of the impact and effects of participation in the Worldmindedness Teacher Education Institute was carried out. Participants

(experienced teachers) in the Institute were pre- and post-tested with a battery of instruments to measure change in values and attitudes from close-mindedness to more open-mindedness, and teachers' "belief-practices" gaps. A control group of graduate students were similarly tested. Harvey's "This I Believe" Test measured openness or closedness of belief structure and openness to change. Brown's Philosophical Beliefs Inventory measured endorsement of Dewey's basic philosophy of teaching and Brown's Teacher's Practices Inventory measured actual teaching practices. Differences between the two tests provided a "belief-practices" gap. Results showed that the Worldmindedness Institute's program was successful in that it stimulated the teacher-participants to question and evaluate their beliefs and values, as well as their educational practices.

3.5 Other Programs and Sources

While the main focus of this report is on the K-14 curriculum and teacher education, other locales for intercultural education should not be overlooked, particularly if they offer ideas that might be adapted to education in the schools. While the schools are concerned with educating everyone for an uncertain future, other institutions have been faced with the problem of educating selected numbers of persons to handle particular intergroup and intercultural situations.

Business, government, and the military are all faced with a number of situations in which successful intergroup and intercultural interactions are crucial for success of their tasks. The Department of State has long conducted training programs for their various staffs, including the Diplomatic Corps and the Agency for International Development. The military forces have been concerned about training their personnel in language and intercultural relations for both wartime and peacetime activities. Private business has also been concerned with training employees for overseas work, but has evinced still greater interest in training programs to improve cooperation and efficiency among individuals and groups within large domestic organizations.

While these non-school agencies have by no means been successful across the board in their intergroup and intercultural activities--the Ugly American and labor strife are all too characteristic of many intergroup relations--there have been outstanding examples of highly successful training programs in

particular situations. The development of intensive language training methods by the military during World War II is one example. Training in intergroup relations within large American business organizations, now aided by many consultants and consulting firms, is another. Training for members of the Peace Corps is a third example, instances of which will be described briefly here.

A Draft Handbook for Cross-Cultural and Community Involvement Training, prepared for the Peace Corps by Albert R. Wight, Mary Anne Hammons, and John Bing of the Center for Research and Education (1969), presents a wealth of information and methods for intercultural education. The essential element of the many training methods suggested in this report is that students are taught to identify, analyze, confront, and cope with particular significant elements of cultural diversity. This approach is in sharp contrast with typical methods of dealing with cultural diversity in our educational system. These common methods suppress the most uncomfortable elements of cultural diversity, treat the less disturbing aspects of cultural diversity as interesting oddities, and emphasize acceptance, good will, and understanding (the latter not defined) at the expense of analyzing, confronting, and coping with the differences.

Emphasizing the approach of confronting and coping with important elements of cultural diversity, the Handbook describes many training methods, including community description, critical incidents, the culture assimilator, case studies, situational exercises, role playing, biographical descriptions, and nonverbal communication. (Wight, pp. 158-62, 287-352) A brief description of the culture assimilator will be given, because it is unique, apparently highly successful, and has been fairly well researched.

The culture assimilator was developed by Martin Chemers and others at the University of Illinois. The term is applied both to the method of developing a program, and the program itself. A culture assimilator is developed by using informants in two cultures--the home culture and the host culture--to identify critical incidents involving difficulties in interaction between members of the two cultures, to suggest explanations and solutions to these difficulties, and to validate the best solutions. In final form, the culture assimilator is a programmed self-study manual, containing 70 to 100 items. Each item describes "a brief episode of an intercultural encounter, four alternative answers, and a discussion of each answer, including an explanation of the cultural basis for the correct answer and further instructions....The culture assimilator approach can be applied to any culture and can transmit considerable

information to the trainee in a short period of time." (Wight, pp. 335-36)

There is no reason why culture assimilators could not be developed for use in schools and in the context of the conceptual framework of this report, to deal with interactions between members of many microcultures and with interactions between members of microcultures and of the macroculture. Assimilators are time-consuming and difficult to develop, but so are many other effective tools. Similarly, it could prove very useful to investigate, with a view to adaptation for school purposes, the other methods described in this Handbook for Peace Corps training, as well as many of the other methods that have been developed in government, the military, and private business.

4.0 A GENERAL MODEL FOR INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

4.1 Introduction

Over a period of years the SSEC has developed and revised a Curriculum Materials Analysis System (CMAS). The system was originally intended as a guide for describing and analyzing all aspects of a package of social studies or social science education materials. In addition to being used extensively for this purpose, the CMAS has also been used as a guide for curriculum materials development, as an aid in selection of materials, and in a variety of programs for educating school personnel. It has also been adapted for use in subject areas other than social studies, and to apply to educational programs as well as curriculum materials--although the distinction between "programs" and "materials" is by no means sharp.

We have constructed a general model for intercultural education, based on the CMAS, with modifications to accommodate the special characteristics of intercultural education as interpreted by others and as defined in this report. The purpose of this general model is twofold: to use as a basis for defining or describing existing models of intercultural education, whether explicit or implicit, and to serve as a basis for defining a particular model which is suggested in this report. Thus, the general model is to serve as a comprehensive matrix (in the nonmathematical sense) for more specialized models.

In Section 4.2, below, a general model for educational programs and materials is described. In Section 4.3, this general educational model is refined into a general model for intercultural education.

4.2 A General Model for Educational Programs and Materials

The model has six major categories, which are described briefly below.

(1.0) Product Characteristics. This section poses two types of questions: What are the materials, reports, media, tests, etc., that make up the physical manifestations of the program or package? What are the most important characteristics of the program or package, such as grade level, subject area, instructional characteristics, and performance data?

(2.0) Rationale and Objectives. A rationale is a philosophic position on education held by a program planner or curriculum developer. It consists of the assumptions and goals which the developer uses as guides and criteria for the selection and ordering of objectives, content, strategies, and evaluation processes in the curriculum. The assumptions include assumptions about

the nature of the individual, of society, and of the relationship between the individual and society; also assumptions about the nature of knowledge and values.

Objectives of curriculum materials are statements that indicate the ways in which students are expected to change their thinking, values, and actions as a result of using the materials. Objectives range from very general to very specific and include both substantive and methodological objectives.

(3.0) Content. This section includes all the specific things learners are expected to learn. This includes "subject matter" in the usual sense of history, geography, etc., as well as subject matter identified in ways other than the usual subject areas, such as group dynamics and conflict management; learning objectives related to values and attitudes, such as values analysis and becoming more open-minded; psychomotor learning, such as greater manual dexterity (not usually an important area in social studies); and the learning of processes, such as hypothesis formation and data analysis methods. These four areas of learning or content are referred to as "cognitive," "affective," "psychomotor," and "methodological," respectively. The categories are not entirely clear-cut; the cognitive and methodological areas, in particular, may overlap -- one cannot go very far in a cognitive area without using methodological tools. However, curriculum developers frequently make a distinction between the two, giving particular emphasis to one or the other, even though neither can be divorced entirely from the other.

(4.0) Learning Theory and Instructional Strategies. Methods of teaching --instructional strategies--must be related to learning theory in some way. The relationship, if any, is usually implicit. Also, learning theory is at best a collection of unintegrated hypotheses. Nevertheless, it is important to make use of what is known about learning theory in the design of instructional strategies. It is the purpose of this section of the CMAS to describe the instructional strategies used in the program or materials and to relate them insofar as possible to learning theory. The CMAS specifies and elaborates three general types of learning theory: specifist, or stimulus-response, associated particularly with the names of Thorndike, Pavlov, Watson, Guthrie, Hull, and Skinner; field theory, associated especially with the names of Kohler, Lewin, Tolman, and Wertheimer; and personality theory, associated especially with the names of Freud, Murray, Maslow, and Allport. The CMAS also suggests a classification of teaching strategies and some linkages, constituting some elements of "instructional theory," between learning theory and teaching strategies.

(5.0) Antecedent Conditions. Antecedent conditions are the conditions which must exist, with respect to pupil, teacher, and learning situation (the school, community, or other learning site) in order for the program or materials to be successfully implemented. Questions are raised about what prior skills and knowledge both the learner and the teacher must possess in order to achieve the intended objectives, as well as questions about all relevant aspects of the learning environment.

(6.0) Evaluation. Evaluation of a program or of materials should be approached from a number of angles. All possible sources of evaluative data should be considered: pilot and test data from developers of the program or materials; experience data gathered by publishers of the program or materials; experience data gathered by other agencies, such as schools and program directors; and results of the work of researchers related to the program or materials. All anticipated targets should be considered: the learners, first and foremost, but also teachers, administrators of schools and programs, and the entire learning environment (including the physical site and the institutional setting). All relevant bases of comparison should be considered: with the stated or implicit objectives of the program or materials; with pre-existing programs or materials; with alternative (control) programs or materials; and with norms specified by developers, teachers, program directors, or other evaluators. A variety of methods should be considered, and used as appropriate to the objectives of the materials or program. In addition to paper-and-pencil tests, consideration should be given to oral communications with peers and teachers; videotaping for self-analysis, peer-analysis, and teacher-analysis; skill demonstrations; and oral tests. Finally, the analyst-evaluator must make recommendations or decisions.

4.3 A General Model for Intercultural Education

The general model for intercultural education suggested in this section follows the general educational model of the preceeding section, but with revisions of some sections of that general model to make it more specific to intercultural education.

(1.0) Product Characteristics. This section requires little or no modification to make it applicable to intercultural education. However, it should be noted that "characteristics" of intercultural programs may entail a greater variety of sites and activities than is the case with most educational programs.

(2.0) Rationale and Objectives. While a good statement of rationale and objectives is desirable for all educational programs and materials, it is especially essential for intercultural education, for two reasons. The first reason is that rationale and objectives, in our general educational model, deal with the nature of man and society and with educational objectives related to man and society. Intercultural education, as much as any educational endeavor (and more than most), bears on the relationships among man, society, and education. The second reason, perhaps more debatable than the first, is that many educational endeavors in the general area of international and intercultural education have been undertaken on the basis of even vaguer theories and rationales than other types of endeavor. Global (!) objectives have often been stipulated with little or no grounding in philosophical outlook or educational theory.

The attempt will not be made here to spell out a complete general rationale for intercultural education. We do wish to note the necessity for such a rationale, to note that Section 2.0 above provides much of the material for a rationale, and that the Becker-Anderson report described elsewhere in this report is also a rich resource for developing a rationale for intercultural education (Becker, 1969).

Seven general objectives for intercultural education have been described in Section 2.3, above. They are repeated without elaboration here.

(2.1) A new context for understanding culture, including understanding the nature of microcultures, the macroculture, and the relationships among and between them, in a context of system analysis.

(2.2) Awareness of self, in contexts ranging from face-to-face groups to global society.

(2.3) Awareness of mankind.

(2.4) Ability to accept, cope with, and profit from cultural diversity.

(2.5) Ability to communicate clearly and interact constructively with individuals and groups having a wide variety of interests and cultural backgrounds.

(2.6) Ability to manage social conflicts based on cultural differences.

(2.7) Development and implementation of an experiential base for intercultural education, based on the preceding six goals.

(3.0) Content. The following categories of "content" are not mutually exclusive but are needed to specify and classify all the things that learners might be expected to learn.

(3.1) Subject Areas. These are the usual academic divisions of "subject matter," which might make contributions to, or be the targets for, intercultural education. They can be interpreted to cover all of learning, including everything in Sections(3.2)-(3.5) below; but it is useful to break out the areas indicated in Sections (3.2)-(3.5), in order to emphasize these important dimensions of "subject matter."

Social Science	Humanities	Natural Science
History	Literature	Biology
Geography	Music	Chemistry
Political Science or Government	Art	Physics
Economics	Theater and Dance	Geology
Social Psychology	Etc.	Etc.
Anthropology		
Etc.		

(3.2) Cognitive and Analytical Areas.

People and Groups. This area includes levels or sizes of groups, from small face-to-face groups through community, state, and global groups; ethnicity and race; similarities and differences among individuals and (especially) groups; and conflict and conflict management.

Systems. Interpreting "system" in the broad sense of "any set of interrelated components" (Kuhn, 1963, p. 38), this area includes approaches to subject areas which emphasizes the definition of components (individuals, groups, organizations, physical conditions and settings, etc.) and the study of their interrelationships. Materials and programs might include system analysis, especially cybernetic systems, and various approaches to regionalism and global or world systems.

(3.3) Affective and Humanistic Approaches. This area focuses on feelings and values, including what is often referred to as the "affective domain" and "humanistic" education. It includes such things as self-awareness, awareness of mankind, accepting differences, and coping with differences--with emphasis on the feeling and valuing, rather than the cognitive and analytical aspects.

(3.4) Methodological Content. This area emphasizes ways of thinking, investigating, valuing, feeling, and learning.

Cognitive Objectives. The Bloom (1956) taxonomy, or some modification of it, is an appropriate frame of reference here, supplemented by more explicit approaches to "the scientific method."

Affective Objectives. The Krathwohl (1964) taxonomy, or some modification of it, is an appropriate frame of reference here, supplemented by some more

analytical approaches to valuing and value analysis.

Psychomotor Objectives. The Simpson (1966) taxonomy, or some modification of it, is an appropriate frame of reference here.

(3.5) Action and Experiential Learning. Almost all educational efforts could profit from greater engagement of learners with action and experience closely related to the objectives of learning. This is no less true, and is possibly more true, for intercultural education.

(4.0) Learning Theory and Instructional Strategies. In this area, perhaps the most relevant work for intercultural education is that of Hess and Torney (1967), which is reviewed in the Becker-Anderson report (1967, pp. 226-27) and by King (1972) and has been updated somewhat by Lesser (1971). The four models reviewed by Hess and Torney are described briefly below.

(4.1) Four Learning Models.

Accumulation Model. "This approach makes the assumption that skills, attitudes, and role expectations are simply accumulated in relatively unrelated units" (Becker, 1969, p. 226). This model is very much like the specifist, or stimulus-response, model suggested in the CMAS.

Role-Transfer Model. Roles learned in one context (obeying rules in school, for example) will carry over to other contexts (obeying rules as a national or world citizen, for example).

Identification Model. This model posits "the child's modeling of the behavior or attitudes of some other person--usually a parent or teacher....The child may either model small units of behavior or he may take on general identifications (like political party)" (Becker, 1969, p. 227). This model has some, perhaps distant, relationship to the personality theory suggested in the CMAS.

Cognitive-Development Model. "Based on Piagetian theory of cognitive development in the thinking of young children, this model holds that the child moves through stages from concrete, simplistic, egocentric approaches to more abstract, complex, pluralistic" thinking.(King, 1971, p. 140). "Here the emphasis is upon the existence of tendencies within the child to transform, stabilize, and differentiate knowledge as well as store it for retrieval" (Becker, 1968, p. 227). This model is related to the field theory group described in the CMAS.

(4.2) Three Instructional Models.

Concentric Circle Model. This is a model commonly used in the social studies, particularly at elementary levels. The model assumes that children learn

most easily those things that are closest and most familiar to them, and that learning about more remote things can be learned more easily after the close and familiar things are learned. The model has (at least) two versions, which might be called personal and institutional-geographic. The personal model refers to individuals and groups, and is represented by concentric circles consisting of self, small groups, and larger groups. The institutional-geographic model refers to social and political institutions and translates into family, school, neighborhood, city, state, nation, and world.

Spiral Learning Model. This model, as exemplified by Taba, for example (1967, Ch. 2), posits that learning of concepts and relationships can be accomplished efficiently by encountering them in the early grades in very simple forms, which are then elaborated as the concepts and relationships are encountered repeatedly in later grades. This is a commonly-used model in social studies, including some kinds of international education.

"Association Breeds Empathy" Model. In many intergroup educational endeavors it has been assumed that bringing alienated groups together will reduce friction and increase empathy, respect, and perhaps affection between or among the groups.

(5.0) Antecedent Conditions. Intercultural education needs to specify antecedent conditions that will make likely the accomplishment of prescribed outcomes. This must be done with respect to

Learners
Teachers
Learning Sites and Environments.

(6.0) Evaluation. There is little to be added to the description of evaluation in the general model of Section 4.2. It cannot be said too strongly that evaluation should be related as closely as possible to objectives. As already noted, objectives in intercultural education are probably vaguer than objectives in many other aspects of the curriculum. Clear objectives and targeted evaluation methods should be developed together.

5.0 EXISTING MODELS OF INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

The two models presented in the preceding section--for a general curriculum and for an intercultural curriculum--are general models (the former more general than the latter, of course) into which any number of more specific models may be fitted. They are comprehensive and demanding, in that they implicitly ask that all dimensions of a program or a materials package be spelled out. It is not surprising, therefore, that few programs or materials specify all of these dimensions; and, in fact, it is typical that only a few dimensions are specified in any one program, the rest being ignored or left to inferences to be made by the user.

In this section, models of intercultural programs and materials will be reviewed in terms of generalizations related to the six major sections of the two models presented in the preceding section.

5.1 Product Characteristics

The physical embodiment of intercultural programs and materials falls into two major types. One group, stemming from project-type activities, consists largely of accounts of how a particular set of ideas was developed and put into practice. The user of the products is invited to follow the route of the developers, with modest or even major adaptations left to the resources and inclinations of the user. Products of this type may have the advantage of being open, spontaneous, and creative. But they often fall short of giving sufficient guides and materials to prospective users.

The other major type of product, to which relatively little attention has been given in this report, includes materials which are commercially published. These products have the advantage of being well produced from a technical standpoint, and of being available in any desired quantity. They may have the disadvantage of being less creative, more orthodox, and more standardized.

There are now many products, including some reviewed in Section 3.0, which were generated in funded projects and are commercially published. There represent a cross between the two types described above. They have the advantages of being readily available, along with at least a part of the creativity, variety, and openness of project-created materials. One of the big problems related to commercial publication of project materials has been the strong

tendency of publishers to make materials more orthodox, to fit the market as they conceive it, and more conventionally packaged, to save production costs. Despite the economic necessities of keeping down production costs, however, both project-produced and commercially-produced materials have been tending toward a greater variety of media in the finished products--transparencies, slide-tapes, audio tapes, simulations and games, etc.

5.2 Rationale and Objectives

Program and curriculum developers usually do a poor job of developing and explaining their rationale (as that term is defined in this report), a fair job of defining general objectives, and a poor job of defining specific objectives. Developers of intercultural curricula are no exception.

Typical general objectives of international and intercultural programs and materials are for the student to achieve understanding of, and tolerance of, or empathy for, other kinds of people. The rationale for these objectives, mostly implicit, is that such relationships are desirable, in order to bring about a felicitous state of human affairs. Specific objectives are generally lacking, and performance objectives are especially rare. "Understanding"--a term that is overused and underexplained throughout the educational world--frequently stands without further specification.

Good rationales are not entirely lacking, however. The Mankind Curriculum presents a good rationale, along with general objectives, but is weak on specific objectives. It relates general objectives to a particular view of the nature of man and of society. It stresses the unity and oneness of mankind and the obligations of man to each other. It states that "Education from a mankind perspective means developing a new morality. Things and actions become right or wrong, good or bad, because they serve the attainment of unitary mankind." (Goodlad, 1971, p. 6)

Some of the objectives suggested in the general model for intercultural education in Section 4.3 are present in many programs and materials; rarely are all included. The Mankind Curriculum deals extensively with Objective 2, "Achieving awareness of self," and with Objective 3, "Achieving awareness of mankind." It does little or nothing with the other objectives. The model in the Becker-Anderson report, emphasizing political and international aspects of all its objectives (which was the focus of the report), deals with all seven objectives to some extent. It puts particular emphasis on the objective, "Understanding a global system or systems,"

and on "Achieving awareness of mankind," while putting relatively less emphasis on "Conflict management," other than in the rather narrow terms of international conflict (again, in line with the focus of the report). (Becker, 1969, pp. 101-10)

In general, much attention has been paid recently to that part of Objective 1 that deals with "Understanding a global system or systems," particularly as the terms "spaceship earth" and "global society" have caught on (and been overused); although relatively little use has been made of the real substance of system analysis as presented, for example, by Alfred Kuhn. (1963) Objective 3, "Achieving awareness of mankind," although often vaguely conceived and not pinned down to specific objectives, has probably received the greatest emphasis in programs that qualify as intercultural. It is followed closely by Objective 2, "Achieving awareness of self". The latter objective is often developed nicely, making good use of Piagetian concepts of staged development of self in physical and social contexts. Objective 4, "Managing cultural diversity," is commonly dealt with both in programs that stress international relations and those that stress domestic intergroup relations--although too often at the level of naivete described in Section 2.2, and seldom or never from the viewpoint of the "two-story culture." Objective 5, "Managing conflict," is seldom dealt with, except in the context of international conflict and diplomacy. Much more could be done, based on existing conceptual developments and research.

5.3 Content

The content dealt with in intercultural programs and materials can be divided into two parts which are very unequal in terms of frequency of use, and very different. The first, commonly-used, type of content consists of learning about and becoming familiar with people in other groups. It has a number of modes, varying greatly in methods of presentation but having the common element of learning about other people. In contrast, the second type of content stresses differences between (at least) two cultures, analysis of the differences, ways to overcome the negative effects of the differences, and perhaps positive gains to be derived from the differences.

The second approach emphasizes the identification of cultural differences that are most troublesome in terms of misunderstanding and malfunctioning in cross-cultural transactions, analysis of the differences, and searching for

ways to overcome the differences. The emphasis is on analysis and problem-solving, rather than "understanding" (which often means "tolerating") and good will. The best example of this approach found by the writers is the Peace Corps training Handbook (Wight, 1969) referred to in Section 3.5--although this is not a school-based program.

While these two approaches to content stand in sharp contrast to each other, they need not be mutually exclusive in an intercultural program. The problem is that the first has been used too much, the second too little. Much more needs to be done with the analytical, critical-incident approach, and less reliance placed on the understanding, good-will approach. Not that there is anything wrong with good will and acceptance but, as Kenneth Boulding has said, love is a scarce commodity, to be distributed wisely where it is needed and will do the most good. The analytical, problem-solving approach in intercultural education will help to conserve the world's scarce supplies of love and good will.

5.4 Learning Theory and Instructional Strategies

As with most educational programs and materials, learning theory is seldom used explicitly, although developers and practitioners must have in mind a number of pieces of learning theory, consisting of a miscellany of stimulus-response, field, personality, and developmental theory. Perhaps the most commonly-used theoretical base for intercultural education, as already mentioned, is Piagetian developmental theory, referring both to social and spatial development patterns of the child.

Instructional strategies for the first approach described in Section 5.3--learning about people—include hearing about the history, life, myths, etc., of other people; multi-media modes of studying about other people; and inter-disciplinary approaches to studying other people, including "area studies." These strategies are apparently based on the simple theory, probably no more than half true, that familiarity breeds empathy. Another common approach to studying about other people is to enact things they do, such as preparing dishes eaten by other people, wearing their dress, and singing their songs. But it is notable, because this emphasizes the contrast with the second approach, that disturbing elements of cultural diversity are avoided. Children are not encouraged to eat seals' eyes and blubber, nor are they permitted to drink French wine or look at bare African breasts.

Instructional strategies for the second approach described in Section 5.3

are intended to help the learner discover the most painful cultural differences, to analyze their causes, and to find solutions. The culture assimilator, critical incidents, case studies, situational exercises, role-playing, and non-verbal communication exercises described in the Handbook (Wight, 1969) all stress the discovery, analysis, and solving of difficult problems in intercultural relations. These activities are based on implicit learning theory which says that doing is more effective than hearing and that reality, or a close approximation to it, is often a better teacher than more remote encounters with the world.

5.5 Antecedent Conditions

The aspect of antecedent conditions of most interest for intercultural education is related to the selection of sites. Where is the best place for intercultural education to take place? While the use of overseas sites has been an accepted and much-used device (it has not been difficult to sell the idea of seeing the world to students and teachers, particularly if funds can be provided), inadequate use has been made of situations that lie somewhere between the schoolroom and the German village. In particular, intercultural experiences within the city and nation and intercultural simulations have been underused.

5.6 Evaluation

Most programs that center on intercultural education have not been fully evaluated before they become operational, nor do they provide those who operate them the necessary tools to conduct meaningful evaluation. Two reasons are suggested for this: (1) When resources for curriculum and program development are limited, which is always the case, the first component of the development plan to be cut is the evaluation. A project director will seldom cut the development of his program because he does not have the resources to properly evaluate it; and (2) most curriculum developers and program creators do not have a clear conceptual framework for evaluation.

In analyzing several sets of curricula, we were unable to find any reference in the materials (the teacher's guides) as to how they were tested and evaluated. An important exception to this generalization are the final reports of most of the social studies curriculum materials projects. These federally supported projects, for the most part, were evaluated--some much more than others (see Levin, 1969). Most others speak about the importance of gaining feedback on the operation of the program--what the students are learning.

Yet a close look at the objectives of the curricula and a corresponding look at the test items (when they are given) often shows little relationship. It is clear that those who develop intercultural education materials in the future should be required to commit a much larger part of their support to evaluation, both on the product and the tools to help those using the materials gain feedback.

6.0 COMPONENTS OF AN INTERCULTURAL MODEL, SOME RESEARCH FINDINGS, AND SOME SUGGESTED PROGRAMS

In this section are presented proposed elements of an intercultural education program, a sampling of research that seems to support this conceptualization of intercultural education, and a listing of programs that may be worthy of federal support if intercultural education is to become a more predominant part of American education. The content of these three components of Section 6.0 should be seen as pointing directions for further discussion and work.

6.1 What Should All Intercultural Education Programs Contain?

An important part of basic rationale for intercultural education programs lies in the "two-story culture" concept of Section 2.0. The ability to move freely between microcultures and the skills that enable one to cross from micro- to macrocultures are the operational tools that could bring about a more workable community on "spaceship earth."

Flowing from this rationale, appropriate objectives for intercultural education programs include the following:

1) recognition and analysis by students and school personnel of the common and parallel problems existing between nations, as well as between microcultures within a nation;

2) conversely, but equally important, recognition and analysis of the diverse aspects of the micro- and macrocultures. Emphasis is on understanding how diversity is a natural means by which complex societies can profit--both by random variation and selective retention;

3) increased understanding by the learners and school personnel participating in intercultural education of the multi-faceted world culture systems; that is, an intellectual understanding of micro- and macrocultures and the necessity of possessing the ability to move between and among them;

4) an awareness of personal norms and behaviors, and of their origins, as they co-exist within the complex social system;

5) skill at coping with social conflict, not through fear, but through the ability to realize the useful aspects of conflict. To manage conflict is to recognize that without a dynamic equilibrium between and among microcultures nothing new is created on the one hand, nor is all lost by dramatic change

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on the other; and

6) maintenance of an experimental attitude toward intercultural education programs. It will be important that students, as well as teachers, researchers, administrators, and developers participate in the critique and evaluation of intercultural education programs.

The content of intercultural education programs must be drawn from both the academics and the events and phenomena of the real world. The tools of the social sciences can be used to open the secrets of the world; the humanities contain man's treasures; and the real world is the laboratory.

If this is the case, it is necessary to include a number of different professionals in the development of intercultural education programs. It is necessary to call upon the expertise of those in the social sciences (economist, political scientist, and so on), of those in the humanities (historians, artist, and so on), and of those in education--the professional who must make the system work.

With content in hand, the question of how to teach and how to learn is paramount, yet difficult to answer. We have suggested a number of different models that can be used in the teaching of intercultural education (see Section 4.3 of this report). Different models are appropriate for different situations. The key is to find the proper mode of presentation and match it with the content and what we have called the antecedent conditions.

Antecedent conditions for appropriate intercultural education programs certainly include teachers that can teach the subject, colleges and universities that can teach the teachers, and communities and schools that are willing to include the subject in general education. In addition, both teachers and students need learning tools--curriculum materials and other media. Much is now known about the development of curriculum materials (this was learned during the development of the major curriculum projects supported by the U.S. Office of Education and the National Science Foundation) and this knowledge should be capitalized upon as new intercultural education materials are developed to fit into the general education of students.

In conclusion, all intercultural education programs must contain means for evaluation. This is true if the program is supported by the U.S. Office of Education at a large university or if it is carried out in a small school district. In Section 8.0, the problems of Evaluation are addressed.

6.2 Research

In this section, we briefly review some of the major research studies that lend support to our model of the two-story culture by providing at least partial answers to the three major questions raised by that model:

1) How do the young become socialized into microcultures?

2) What are the difficulties of understanding and coping with microcultures other than one's own, and what do we know about learning processes and programs that can help minimize such difficulties?

3) Is there such a thing as the "macroculture," and if so, what is it's nature and how can one better learn how to move between a microculture and the macroculture?

6.21 Socialization into Macro- and Microcultures

Numerous socialization studies have been conducted in the past few years, and it would be redundant to reiterate here the work done by Becker (1968) and Torney and Morris (1972) in compiling and describing these studies as they relate to the question of intercultural socialization. Becker reports the most significant studies prior to 1968 related to the questions of (1) how do children develop their identification with their culture? (2) how do children learn to relate to other cultures? (3) what are children's attitudes to the United Nations? (4) what are children's attitudes towards international conflict? (5) who are the major agents of socialization vis a vis children's attitudes and values? and (6) what does the research say about curriculum and cultural socialization? The focus of the Becker review is on national and international socialization, and thus it gives perhaps greater documentation to questions of macrocultural socialization than to questions of microcultural socialization, as well as stressing the role of nation-states.

Torney and Morris, using a developmental framework, review some of the studies reported by Becker. They then move beyond the Becker report to examine some of the research based on Piagetian and other developmental theories (Alvick, 1968; Rosell, 1968; and Kolhberg, 1969) which have shed light on questions related to the development of children's attitudes about themselves, their cities, their states, and their nations. This moves us closer to an understanding of microcultural socialization.

In addition, Torney discusses her findings, reported to the American Political Science Association in 1969, in regard to the relationship between children's learning of language and their learning of group norms. She notes

that at an early age, children in the United States come to believe that those who speak "American" are "good," and those who do not are "bad." This finding suggests that language should be considered an important variable in research on socialization into both macro- and microcultures.

6.22 Coping with Other Microcultures

There is a great deal of research that investigates the difficulties of understanding and coping with microcultures other than one's own. This research also indicates that it is possible to overcome or at least reduce these difficulties and learn to move between microcultures with some degree of ease.

Gorden (1970), using an extensive interview survey, found that people from different microcultures operate with different sets of assumptions which block or confound communication. Based on the findings of the survey, instructional materials were developed to show how common unexpressed assumptions held by North and Latin Americans can lead to mistaken ideas about such roles as driver of a car, pedestrian, guest in a household, host, maid, servant, cashier in a bank, and so forth.

A study by Pearse (1970) in New Guinea appears to lend support to the findings in the Robbers' Cave experiment (Sherif et al., 1961) that integration and development of positive attitudes toward members of differing subcultures is more likely when members of the differing groups must work together on superordinate tasks (a common goal-directed task). Pearse contrived situations in which children from different tribal groups in a New Guinea state school were seated either in such a way that they had to interact or in such a way that they could avoid interacting. Children who were forced to interact showed greater willingness to work with members of differing microcultures.

Perhaps the most extensive research and instructional materials development related to the problem of coping with differing microcultures has been conducted by governmental agencies (both civilian and military) and business concerns who must prepare their personnel for overseas operations. Though most of these programs are aimed at dealing with national and international cultures, they appear to have implications for and applications to the subnational levels, also.

The Peace Corps' training program is among the outstanding sources of ideas and models for learning to cope with other cultures. A Draft Handbook for Cross-Cultural and Community Involvement Training, developed for the Peace Corps by Wight, Hammons, and Bing (1969) described numerous programs which could be used within communities and schools for teaching both children and adults about coping with microcultures other than their own, as well as the

macroculture.

The Peace Corps program is based on the use of the "culture assimilator" (see page 55 of this report) and similar models for intercultural training. Also included in the Peace Corps repertoire is a program called "critical incidents" which is similar to the "culture assimilator" except that the answers are not given as they are in the programmed instruction component of the culture assimilator. Three other kinds of exercises are (1) the case study approach, which has the learner look at situations that have happened in the past and reflect on how he might handle them; (2) the situational exercise, in which the learner assumes the role of a person from another microculture; and (3) role-playing, which calls for the learner to assume a specific role and act it out as he thinks he should in a different microculture from his own.

Research supporting these exercises is still being accumulated. At the University of Illinois (Chemers et al., 1966) twelve experimental subjects underwent training using the culture assimilator developed for Arabic cultures, while the control group of twelve used a geographic training program focused on Arab countries. Pre- and post-tests were used to measure the emotional climate and performance of the groups, and it was found that the experimental group did significantly better on two of the three indicators.

In an experiment with the Thai culture assimilator (Mitchell and Foa, 1969), a control and an experimental group worked with Thai students in a series of contrived tasks. The experimental group had had assimilator training. All observers indicated that the experimental group maintained better personal relationships with the Thais.

Other field studies, reported by Chemers (1969) and O'Brien, Fiedler, and Hewitt (1972), indicate that the culture assimilator has positive effects on subjects, helping them to work more effectively with peoples of other cultures. There appear to be strong indications that culture assimilators developed for use with subnational microcultures within a single country could effectively train people to cope with microcultures other than their own.

6.23 Coping with the Macroculture

A study by Bice reported in Social Science and Medicine (1971) is representative of the types of studies that can be found to support the concept of the macroculture. This study dealt with the commonality of health concepts and attitudes

across microcultures. The investigator probed twelve locations in seven countries (Canada, United States, England, Argentina, Finland, Poland, and Yugoslavia) to discover the nature of attitudes and concepts related to health. He found significant similarities in health-related attitudes and concepts cutting across cultural boundaries. From this study, it is not difficult to see that medical science and technology are part of the macroculture; though there exist some variations among cultures, the medical profession is becoming more and more the same throughout the world. The same could be said for some other areas of human endeavor, such as those suggested in Sections 2.1 and 2.2 above.

Given that the macroculture does exist along side and intertwined with many microcultures, how can the young learn to "negotiate the stairs" between their own microculture and the macroculture? The available research indicates that one extremely important variable is language. Torney (1969) found in her study conducted with elementary school children that young children exhibited some confusion about their national origins but had a clear understanding about their native tongues. It was apparent that language speaking and learning had a discernable influence on the child's socialization and international orientations. However, she suggested that her study only began to scratch the surface, and that the child's understanding of the meaning of group membership needed to be more fully explored.

Another study related to the role of language in facilitating or hindering movement between micro- and macroculture was conducted by the Southwestern Cooperative Education Laboratory (Valencia, 1969). The investigators explored the development of a series of teaching/learning models for bilingual school situations. Their early work suggested that schools need a variety of models for working with children who speak languages other than the one of the dominant culture. The report offers 19 different models, the use of each depending upon the background of the child. This research and preliminary development work gives us some directions for preparing individuals to move between their microculture and the macroculture.

6.24 Summary of the Research

We have given only a sampling of the research relevant to our suggested model and programs. The studies cited lend support to the model and indicate that the questions raised by the model can lead to the identification and investigation of significant variables and relationships in the area of intercultural education. Section 7.0 will indicate some of the major gaps in the research on which efforts in the near future should be focused.

6.3 Suggested Programs to Support Intercultural Education

We suggest below a number of programs for consideration by the Institute of International Studies. These programs, undertaken together, would form an integrated, comprehensive international/intercultural education component for the overall federal education effort. Some of these programs are now in operation; some are possible future projects for IIS. Others could not be conducted by IIS under current legislation; however, they might find support from other sections of the U.S. Office of Education or the National Institute of Education. Therefore, it must be kept in mind that we do not suggest that IIS tackle all these programs, but rather consider finding support for some of them elsewhere.

The programs we suggest for the Institute are:

1) Creating interdepartmental intercultural education programs on a number of university campuses. These training programs will prepare research and curriculum specialists in the area of intercultural education.

2) Assisting outstanding teacher education departments in universities in establishing preservice intercultural education programs. Such programs will focus on the problem of injecting the intercultural dimension of education into general education.

3) Supporting university graduate schools and large elementary and secondary school districts in forming new and effective inservice education programs focusing upon intercultural education.

4) Developing resource teachers who have multicultural expertise. These teachers will act as change agents in local school districts.

5) Conducting overseas graduate seminars for teachers, administrators, and supervisors. Such seminars will focus on the nature of specific microcultures, how one is rejected and accepted in different microcultures, and the relationship between microcultures and the macroculture.

6) Developing a program that will facilitate exchanges between foreign curriculum specialists and state education agencies.

7) Establishing school personnel exchange programs with foreign countries and between culturally different school systems within the United States.

8) Organizing a program to provide graduate fellowships for United States students to study intercultural curriculum development or to conduct research in the various social sciences that can add new knowledge to the intercultural dimension of education.

9) Assisting programs or research institutes that wish to develop curriculum focusing on intercultural education; also, supporting those institutes that are interested and qualified in testing and implementing new materials developed by the centers concentrating on intercultural education.

10) Establishing a national diffusion program concentrating on intercultural education. This program will be responsible for gathering data on the various projects listed above, analyzing for diffusion purposes the outputs of all intercultural education efforts, and seeing that these analyses are delivered to the appropriate school personnel.

These programs, when seen in the context of our rationale (see Section 2.0), should effectively change the way in which children move between microcultures and the way they interact with the macroculture. The programs focus on two distinct levels of education--the college and university where some of the training of school personnel takes place, and the elementary and secondary schools. They focus on teachers, administrators, and students at both of these general levels of education. They are both research and action oriented. They deal with both development and implementation, both research to identify and state problems and development of ways to solve those problems, and both what needs to be learned and how one learns that which is needed.

Much work needs to be done to develop and guide these programs. It is important to know what is now underway; what has worked in the past that has been abandoned; what future intercultural education resources from the Office of Education will be; what research is needed to make these programs effective; what the intercultural education manpower needs of the nation will be in 10, 20, and 30 years; and so on. Some of these programs are currently underway, at least in embryonic forms. But they are insufficiently supported by sound research and rationales, insufficiently interrelated, and insufficiently evaluated.

7.0 NEEDED RESEARCH

7.1 Introduction

In assessing the following discussion of the research needed to assess the models and programs offered in this report and to increase the effectiveness of intercultural instruction in the schools, two points should be kept in mind. First, because this is a preliminary report and was prepared with only minimal resources, the identification of relevant research is spotty and incomplete. Therefore, suggestions for further research may be redundant in some cases.

Second, since a complete search of the literature has not been done, some significant questions in need of answers have certainly been overlooked. That is, as one searches the literature, new areas of interest and significance become apparent, new questions arise. A more thorough job of reviewing and analyzing the literature would provide useful preparation for specific future projects.

Suggestions on needed research have been organized into four categories. The first three (corresponding to sections 7.2, 7.3, and 7.4 below) are similar to the organizing questions in Section 6.2, Research: (1) How does one become socialized into a particular microculture? (2) What happens when a person attempts to cross over into a microculture different from his own? and (3) What happens when one moves between his microculture and the macroculture?

Section 7.3 is based entirely on the Becker-Anderson report, as is Section 7.5, Recommended Related Research.

7.2 Questions Related to Socialization into a Microculture

Socialization can be defined as including all learning, formal and informal, deliberate and unplanned, at every stage of the life cycle, which contributes to the individual's sense of identity with the major norms of a particular microculture. We are particularly interested in the planned aspects of socialization--both schooling and other planned learning experiences. There is need for encouraging research that indicates how individuals can be taught in planned settings about their own microcultures, about how to cope with other microcultures, and about how to operate in the macro- as well as the microculture.

The work of Hess, Torney, and others has been noted, dealing with the process of socialization, particularly political socialization, and the establishment of

national identity. Others have contributed to this body of literature but have not been noted in this report. However, with this large and growing body of literature available, we still know little about (1) How does the child's self-image develop in relation to his microculture? (2) How does the child's identification with his microculture develop, especially in the face of many "competing" microcultures such as we have in the United States today? (3) What processes are at work in many microcultures that cause many of their young members to become disenchanted with the microculture? (What hinders the development of the child's identification with his own microculture?) (4) What are the ways in which microculture loyalty can be fostered without at the same time encouraging suspicion and/or dislike of members of other microcultures? (5) What are the principal agents of socialization into microcultures--the family, the peer group, the school, the church, etc.? (6) Through what kinds of interaction mechanisms do these agents operate in influencing the child and what are the typical outcomes of these kinds of interaction? (7) What microcultural elements, such as language, play a significant role in the socialization of the young into a particular microculture? (8) What differences in the socialization process are there among microcultures and do these differences significantly affect the outcomes of the socialization processes?

7.3 Needed Research Related to Movement Between Microcultures

The Becker-Anderson report (1968, pp. 220-21) devotes extensive discussion to the need for research in what is termed "studies of pre-adult orientations toward the international social system." One particular section of that presentation is useful to cite here. With a substitution of the term "intercultural" for "inter-societal" and for "international," a parallel set of studies can be envisioned which would be useful for the purposes outlined in this report. Furthermore, such studies, undertaken with the focus on intercultural relations, would be useful for the purposes of the Becker-Anderson report, with its emphasis (not exclusively, by any means) on relations between nation states.

Becker and Anderson suggested that there is a need for:

Studies of pre-adult orientations toward inter-societal relations and processes.

a. Studies of children's images of international conflict and conflict resolution, particularly war.

b. Studies of children's images of international collaboration or cooperation, particularly peace.

c. Studies of children's images and attitudes toward international power or influence.

Studies of pre-adult orientations toward international social problems. Included are:

a. Studies of pre-adult images of the problem of managing intergroup violence.

b. Studies of pre-adult images of the problem of population growth.

c. Studies of pre-adult images of the problem of economic development.

7.4 Research Associated with the Movement Between a Microculture and the Macroculture

Research is needed to define the macroculture more clearly, identify its elements, spell out its processes, recognize its functions, assess its strengths and limitations as an operational concept, and deal with the variations of individual behavior within it. Specifically, the following questions need to be answered.

1) What are the boundaries and the essential components of the macroculture? How does the macroculture differ from microcultures?

2) What is the relationship of the international system to the macroculture? Are all aspects of "international relations" macrocultural?

3) What tools are necessary for a person to have in order to operate within the macroculture, and how can children be aided in acquiring these tools?

4) What happens when one moves back and forth between a microculture and the macroculture? Are there similarities between this and movement between two microcultures? (For instance, does one typically undergo "culture shock" in the transition between micro- and macroculture?)

5) What effects does the macroculture have on microcultures? Is the macroculture's relationship to some microcultures different from its relationship to other microcultures, and if so, in what ways? Does this indicate the need for different approaches for teaching children from different microcultures how to "negotiate the stairs" between micro- and macroculture.

6) What effects do microcultures have on the macroculture? Do some microcultures exert more influence on the macroculture than others? If so, is it easier to move from more influential microcultures into the macroculture than from less influential microcultures?

7) Is it possible to become socialized into the macroculture without becoming socialized into a microculture? If so, are there detrimental effects (for

instance, does one become "rootless")? Do schools presently deal only with socialization into the macroculture, and if so, should their emphasis be shifted to include microcultural socialization? What kinds of materials might be of use in this task?

8) Are schools effective in their efforts to help children cope with the macroculture? If not, what curriculum materials are available that can improve the teaching of concepts and skills related to the macroculture?

7.5 Recommended Related Research

The Becker-Anderson Report (1968, p. 221) has a very useful listing of needed research, related to but cutting across the suggestions above. It recommends pursuing:

1) Studies of egocentrism in children's perception or modes of thinking.

2) Studies of the development and/or decay of ethnocentrism in children's perceptions or modes of thinking.

3) Studies of the development of a capacity for empathy within children.

4) Studies of the content and structure of children's moral judgments.

5) Studies of the structure of children's international attitudes.

6) Studies of the scope of pre-adult's awareness, the depth of their cognitive knowledge, and effective saliance of international phenomena.

7) Studies of the development of an emotional acceptance or tolerance of diversity.

8) Studies of the development of an emotional capacity to adapt to sociocultural change.

9) Studies of the development of a capacity to "live with" social conflict and hostility.

10) Studies of the development of a capacity to "live with" moral ambiguity.

11) Studies of the development of a capacity to experience multiple loyalties or to perceive oneself as a responsible member of many different human groups.

12) Studies of the development of a sense of trans-national moral and social responsibility.

8.0 PERSPECTIVES ON EVALUATION AND A PROPOSED MODEL FOR EVALUATION

In this section, the current status of a number of aspects and problems of educational evaluation is reviewed. Recommendations for elements of an IIS evaluation model are made at the end of each major (one-decimal) subsection, and these recommendations are brought together in Section 8.6.

It should be noted that this study turned up very little information or research about evaluation problems or methods that are particularly suitable or unsuitable for intercultural education. Exceptions are the research on the culture assimilator, reported in Section 3.5, and the research on changes in attitudes in intercultural situations, reported in Section 3.46. In both cases, the research suggests instruments that could readily be used for evaluation purposes.

8.1 Some Evaluation Problems

Evaluation of education endeavors has always been difficult, and has often been controversial. When controversy has ebbed, it has not been because problems were solved but because the quality of education was not a high priority or because there was fairly general satisfaction, probably unwarranted, with the quality of education.

Concern and controversy over the quality of education is now at a high point; therefore, interest in evaluation is also high--and controversies about what is effective or appropriate evaluation abound. Much of the concern and controversy is related to education at all levels; some of it is related specifically to intercultural education.

8.11 Accountability and Cost-Benefit Ratios

A new element in the current concern for quality of education is the pressure being applied on school districts by federal and state governments to be "accountable" for the funds they spend, by demonstrating progress toward well-defined goals. The pressure for good definition of goals has often been in the form of requirements for establishing performance, or behavioral, objectives. The pressure for demonstrating progress has sometimes taken the form of requiring demonstrable progress toward the goals thus defined, sometimes the form of showing favorable ratios of benefits to costs--that is, low cost-benefit ratios.

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While the basic idea of making educators accountable to their constituencies for well-defined goals, progress toward those goals, and economy in achievement of the goals is sound, the results to date of the accountability movement have included many unfavorable outcomes to be offset against whatever good has been accomplished. The rush to achieve the goals of accountability has pushed educators beyond the bounds of their technical capabilities and emotional commitment. The results, to an undetermined extent, have been evasion and subversion of requirements that were intended to further commendable goals, as well as polarization between those who impose the requirements and those who are supposed to carry them out.

8.12 The Evaluator and the Evaluated

The polarization furthered by accountability is related to the polarization that commonly exists between an evaluator and the person being evaluated, or between an evaluator and a person with a proprietary interest in an activity or program that is being evaluated. The evaluated person feels anxious and threatened; he feels that the potential harm that may come from adverse criticisms or judgments outweighs the possible good that may come from positive aspects of the evaluation. The evaluator senses the negative attitude of the evaluated person and may interpret it as a challenge to his expertise or authority. Negative attitudes can easily interact and escalate.

Such defensive reactions may be a part of human nature; certainly they are deep-seated in our culture. Most of us are inept in both receiving and giving either negative or positive criticism. In giving negative criticism, we feel guilty and apologetic, even though yielding to the necessity of criticizing, as a parent or supervisor or, less frequently, as a colleague. In receiving negative criticism, we feel defensive. In either giving or receiving positive criticism, we feel awkward. All of these feelings and reactions interfere with the useful functions that criticism can perform.

There are several actions that can be taken to lessen the debilitating effects that such reactions and interactions have on evaluation efforts. First, in the case of important programs for which evaluation is significant, it may be possible to select program directors who are relatively non-defensive in the face of evaluation or criticism, since it appears that individuals vary quite a bit in their degree of defensiveness. Second, it may be possible to reduce defensiveness through appropriate educational procedures; these procedures might be enlightened by insights on intercul-

tural differences in defensiveness, although the authors know of no existing research results that would either confirm or deny this prospect. Third, it may be possible to change both the environment and the procedures of evaluation in ways that will make them more supportive and less threatening to the person who is being evaluated or is having his program evaluated. A major element in such procedures may be the collaboration of both the evaluator and the evaluated in each stage of the evaluation process, starting with goal setting. It is the third possibility for action that is emphasized in the evaluation model recommended here, although the first two types of action should not be ignored.

8.13 Evaluation and Research

Evaluation and research are closely related to each other. The principle difference between the two is the level of generality of the results they announce. Research results are usually applicable to many situations, evaluation results to a particular situation or program or event; research results are relatively general, evaluation results relatively specific. But general and specific are relative terms. A particular research result may apply to a narrow range of situations or events; a particular evaluation result may apply to a number of dissimilar programs or events and may be generalized by the evaluator or by others to cover situations that are similar to but still different from the exact circumstances under which the evaluation was performed.

To many educators, particularly those not related to a university, research is a distant and academic thing. Educational researchers are seen as tough-minded, bright, but impractical persons who study problems remote from everyday exigencies. They publish their results in journals read mainly by other educational researchers, using a jargon which, when deciphered, usually reads "No significant difference." To the educational researchers, many of the non-university educators seem to be inexplicably apathetic or hostile toward research and wedded to casual, unsound, seat-of-the-pants methods of investigating educational problems--if it can be called "investigating."

Part of the polarization between the evaluators and the evaluated is attributable to the polarization that exists between educators who are researchers and those who are not. To some extent, the researchers and the evaluators are the same people, and the non-researchers and the evaluated are the same people. The negative views that non-researchers have of researchers translate into negative views about evaluation--with the important

added ingredients of threat and anxiety. Non-researchers can, and usually do, ignore research results. The evaluated usually cannot ignore evaluations.

Similarly, the evaluators have negative views about the evaluated, who appear to be as ignorant of the principles of sound evaluation as they are of the principles of sound research. The casual observations made by these uninitiated persons in the name of evaluation are seen as puerile, misguided, and self-serving.

8.14 Responsive Evaluation

An urgent need in the important and difficult field of evaluation is to reduce the polarization and hostility between the evaluators and the evaluated. The breech can be lessened, perhaps, by helping the evaluated to understand better the methods and results of the evaluators. A more promising approach is for the evaluators--or at least some of them--to change their posture to one of more positive listening and responding to the needs, problems, and fears of the evaluated.

Professor Robert E. Stake, of the University of Illinois, in a recent unpublished paper, applies the term "responsive evaluation" to a stance similar to that suggested here. He contrasts responsive evaluation with a more structured, less interactive approach which he calls "preordinate evaluation"; this is similar to the type of evaluation described above, which the evaluated see as distant, academic, and threatening. He says:

> Most contemporary plans for the evaluation of educational programs are "preordinate." They rely on prespecification. They emphasize (1) statement of goals, (2) use of objective tests, (3) standards held by program personnel, and (4) research-type reports. It is even presumed by some that these are essential features of any evaluation plan. They are not. There is an important alternative to preordinate evaluation: responsive evaluation.
>
> This is not a new alternative. Responsive evaluation is what people do naturally in evaluating things. They observe and react. What is new is the beginning of a technology developed around this natural behavior, in part to overcome its defects.
>
> An educational evaluation is a "responsive evaluation" if it orients more directly to program activities than to program intents, if it responds to audience requirements for information, and if the different value-perspectives present are referred to in reporting the success of the program. In these three separate ways an evaluation plan can be responsive.

8.15 Evaluating the Evaluators

Procedures which are likely to improve the quality of evaluation and which may, to some extent, remove the threat of evaluation by making it more

valid and less arbitrary, have been strongly advocated by Michael Scriven. One such method is to have two independent evaluations made of the same program or project, so results can be checked against each other. (Scriven, 1972, p. 4) This procedure might be prohibitively expensive in most cases; many projects cannot afford even one good evaluation. But it might be justified in the case of particularly important or expensive projects.

A second method of checking on the evaluators is to have them evaluated. That is, an evaluator can be engaged to evaluate the methods and competence of a person engaged to evaluate a program. Scriven refers to this procedure as "meta-evaluation." (Glass et al., 1972, p. 4) As with the duplicate evaluation, this method might be prohibitively expensive in most cases. (It might be well worth the cost, but "prohibitively expensive" in terms of the amounts of money ordinarily allocated for evaluation.) Another method of evaluating the evaluators, which might also be productive and would certainly be less expensive, is to have the staff of the evaluated program (who have, hopefully, been trained in the fundamentals, if not the fine points, of evaluation theory and methodology) do the evaluation of the evaluators.

8.16 Recommendations

It is recommended that an IIS evaluation model

1. Place primary emphasis on a "responsive," interactive type of evaluation.

2. Undertake measures to reduce the defensiveness of program or project directors toward evaluation. (See 8.24 and 8.34 below.)

3. Make cautious use of the principle of comparing cost-benefit ratios. (This is not a euphemistic way of saying it should be ignored.)

4. Consider, in rare cases of major or particularly important projects, the undertaking of (a) parallel and independent evaluations and, more frequently, (b) evaluation of the evaluators.

8.2 What Goals?

8.21 Program-Based and Externally-Based Goals and Evaluation

While it is the usual practice to judge a program according to achievement of the goals set out for the program, this is not the only alternative. Scriven has recently made a strong case for an evaluation procedure in which

the evaluator carefully avoids receiving any knowledge of the goals of the program to be evaluated. Instead, the evaluator uses his own knowledge and expertise with respect to educational needs and their attainment to make a judgment about the worth of the project. (Scriven, 1972.) Scriven refers to the usual practice of judging a program by its intended goals as "goal-based evaluation"; the new method which he is advocating (but not to the exclusion of the other) he calls "goal-free evaluation." We prefer the terms "program-based" and "externally-based," which we have coined, to refer to the sources of goals and to the evaluations based on those goals. Scriven (in personal conversation) has disagreed with this view of the matter, feeling that his "goal-free evaluation," being based on the evaluator's expert judgment of the needs of clients served by a program, is not based on a set of "goals." However one views this matter, we feel that Scriven's approach, in which the evaluator is not "biased" by knowledge of the program's objectives nor personally involved in the operation and success of the program, is useful as a (non-exclusive) alternative to program-based evaluation.

8.22 Conflicting Goals; Weighting of Goals

Educators are accustomed to summarizing on a one-dimensional scale performances which have many dimensions; these summaries are called "grades." The process of condensing many dimensions into one involves weighting the various dimensions, each of which represents a goal that is at least partially in conflict with all other goals. (There is always a conflict between goals because there is competition for time or other resources to achieve various goals. There may also be other conflicts.) In many cases, the weighting process is implicit.

In the evaluation of educational programs other than courses which result in student letter-grades, educators are somewhat more accustomed to making explicit the different dimensions or goals on which judgments are being made and to making evaluations on individual dimensions or goals as well as on the total program. Specific evaluations of individual goals are very useful for several reasons. First, they provide a better basis for program improvement than do overall judgments. Second, they provide the basis for reducing or expanding support of particular aspects of a program. Third, they provide a basis for judging for what purposes or persons a particular program might be best suited; the question, "For whom is such a program suited, and under what circumstances?" is often a more useful question than "Overall, how good is this program?"

8.23 Identifying, Clarifying, Revising, and Synthesizing Goals

While most programs have a set of stated goals or objectives, these goals may not be a suitable guide to the director, the participants, or a program-based evaluator, for several reasons. The stated goals may be too general to provide useful guidelines, they may not reflect the real goals of the director, they may not reflect acceptance by participants (both program director and program participants may have a hidden agenda), and an initial set of goals may not be changed to reflect appropriately changes in goals that may occur during program operation.

It is usually a useful procedure, in which an evaluator can play a productive role, to examine or reexamine goals at various points before and during operation of a program. The purposes of such examinations or reexaminations are to identify and clarify both stated and implicit goals (making the latter explicit); to revise goals, both to make them or keep them realistic and to reflect changes in judgment or circumstances; and to reduce conflict among goals, through synthesis, revision of weights, or elimination of some goals.

8.24 Recommendations

It is recommended that an IIS evaluation model

5. Put primary emphasis on program-based evaluation, but devote some resources to externally-based evaluation.

6. Promote the use of some evaluators in the role of consultants who will assist program directors and participants in identifying, clarifying, revising, weighting, and synthesizing goals.

8.3 Who Should Evaluate?

8.31 Measure or Judge?

Some evaluators have advocated the position that an evaluator should only make measurements and should not judge. It is the task of someone else--the project director or the funding agency, perhaps--to use the measurements to make judgments about the quality of the program.

If taken as an admonition to the evaluator to refrain from taking the position that he is the sole and (perhaps) infallible judge of the implications of his evaluation, this viewpoint is a useful one. If taken literally, to mean that the evaluator makes no judgments, it seems both unrealistic and

unproductive. It is unrealistic because the evaluator necessarily exercises judgment about what is important and what is not in the course of selecting and carrying out particular procedures. It is unproductive because, if the evaluator has done a good job, he is in a good position (but not necessarily the only good position) to render useful judgments about the program.

8.32 Professional or Amateur?

If a professional evaluator is defined as a person who devotes a major part of his time to researching, writing about, and/or doing evaluation, it is clear that most evaluation is done by nonprofessionals--by amateurs. Is this a stopgap, made necessary by a shortage of professional evaluators and of funds to support them, or is there a legitimate place for amateurs, thus defined, in evaluation of programs? Is evaluation analogous to surgery, to be undertaken only be highly-trained professionals, or is it analogous to writing, a skill that everyone should have (although some may be more skilled than others, and make their living at it)?

The analogy with writing seems to be the more useful one. Most individuals have frequent need to make evaluations--of products, of alternative courses of action, of programs (in the broad sense in which that term is being used here), etc. There are general analytical skills of evaluation that everyone can learn to some extent, as well as more technical and focused skills that apply to particular areas of endeavor, such as evaluating automobile tires, economics textbooks, and human relations skills. It is conceivable that enough professionals could be trained and supported to do all of our educational evaluation, just as specialists do all of our surgery and make all of our automobiles. But a better case can be made for a "citizens' army" of evaluators--trained to do much of the work of evaluation and using their knowledge of evaluation methods and perspectives to improve their own planning and operation of programs and, perhaps as important as any other aspect of the citizen- or amateur-evaluator approach, to interact intelligently and productively with professional evaluators.

However much is done by amateur evaluators, there will be work aplenty left for professional evaluators. Horizons are unlimited for advancing the theory and technology of evaluation; training both professional and amateur evaluators; doing the more difficult evaluation tasks; and occasionally participating in the more ordinary evaluation tasks, to keep their feet on the ground and to maintain communications with amateur evaluators and their constituencies. (See Scriven, 1966, pp. 3-17, for an extended discussion of the roles of professional and amateur evaluators.)

8.33 Inside or Outside?

Whether professionals or amateurs, evaluators may be "inside" or "outside" the project. An inside evaluator is one who is a staff member of the program, possibly full time, possibly responsible for other aspects of the program in addition to evaluation. An outside evaluator is one who has no other duties in the program, has little or no interaction with program personnel other than that required to perform the evaluation, and who may be paid from a source other than the program being evaluated.

An important advantage of an inside evaluator is that he knows a great deal about the program; a disadvantage is that he will probably have a substantial proprietary interest in the program and personal attachments to program personnel, which will bias his judgments and reports. Correspondingly, the outside evaluator will have the disadvantage of having less knowledge of the program, and the advantage of having no personal involvement with staff or program which might prejudice his judgments or reports; also, he may bring with him a broader perspective, gained from working with other programs.

The choice is not between inside or outside evaluation, but whether there will be outside evaluators. There will always be inside evaluation (staff members will have opinions about how the program is going), although there may not be an inside evaluator in the sense of someone who is assigned the specific task of making evaluative judgments and reports.

If the suggestions given in Section 8.32, above, are taken, it follows that many or all professional staff in a program should have some training in the theory, methods, and viewpoints of evaluation. It is probably also advisable to have one or more inside persons responsible for evaluation, either in the role of professionals or (more likely, unless it is a large program) as amateurs. The inside evaluator or evaluators will, in many cases, be the only evaluators. But the emphasis on designating and training inside evaluators should not preclude the use of outside evaluators, either professional or amateur, when that is feasible.

8.34 Recommendations

It is recommended that an IIS evaluation model

7. Assert the duty of evaluators to make judgments and recommendations.

8. Provide roles for both amateur and professional

evaluators. Amateur evaluators should be trained in the theory, techniques, and viewpoints of evaluation, to facilitate their work both as evaluators and as program staff. Professionals should be used as consultants in devising evaluation programs, as trainers of amateur evaluators, as sources of information on the availability and usefulness of particular evaluation instruments and techniques, and as part of the evaluation personnel for the most important and most extensive programs.

9. Use inside evaluators routinely, and outside evaluators when feasible.

10. Begin planning and implementation of evaluation procedures early in the conceptualization and operation of all programs, as a concommitant to the training and use of program staff members as evaluators.

8.4 What to Measure?

8.41 Inputs, Processes, and Outcomes

Figure 3 is a simplified representation of the educational process. Inputs are supplied, in the form of buildings, teachers, consultants, principals, pencils, etc. The inputs eventuate in certain processes, such as lecturing,

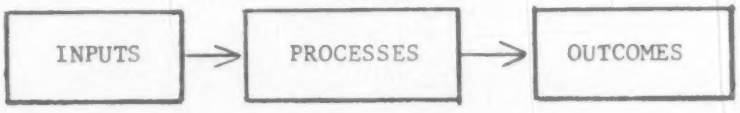

Figure 3 - The Educational Process

student projects, class discussions, and truancy. The results of the processes eventuate in student knowledge of mathematics, student abilities to cope with social problems, teachers loving kids, teachers hating kids, kids hating school, and so forth.

Each of the three stages can be measured. Inputs are measured in terms of capital expenditures on buildings, average levels of teachers' salaries, student-teacher ratios, etc. Processes are measured in terms of what happens in the classroom--most notably by the many variations of Flanders' Interaction Analysis. Outcomes are measured by subject-matter examinations, admissions to college, changes in social attitudes, and so forth.

The focus of measurement is always on the outcomes. The reason for measuring inputs and processes is that they are presumed to have a known relationship to outcomes. The advantage of measuring inputs is that the measurements are inexpensive: it takes little or no extra work to compute average salaries and student-teacher ratios. The problem is that these inexpensive measurements may have little or no relationship to hoped-for outcomes. Does a new school building with all the latest equipment mean that educational outcomes will be improved? Do hard work and overtime put in by a program director and his staff give evidence of a good program? The use of inputs to measure educational achievement completely negates the cost-benefit approach, recommended above; since inputs are the cost items of education, they cannot also be a measure of benefits. Cost-benefit analysis assumes independent measures of costs and of benefits.

Measurements of processes are more closely related to outcomes, but they are more expensive than measurements of inputs. Is the additional expense of these measurements worthwhile, in view of the fact that they are still only presumed to have an effect on outcomes?

Measurements of outcomes get to the heart of the matter--what has happened to students in the educational process. But they are very expensive. The reference here is not to examinations that tell something about what a student knows at the time of the examination, but measurements that tell what has been the result of particular educational experiences in terms of changes in knowledge, attitudes, and abilities.

Outcome measurements can be divided into short-run and long-run measurements. The short-run measurements are those that are made immediately or shortly after the experience, the results of which are to be measured. Long-run measurements, also called longitudinal measurements, are those made long after the educational experience. Long-run results are of most interest to educators, and the most difficult to measure.

For the terms used here, "processes" and "outcomes," Scriven uses the terms "intrinsic" and "payoff." (Scriven, 1966, pp. 23-26) He stresses the importance (and expense) of payoff evaluation, but also notes that intrinsic evaluation may point to desirable results that may not show up in payoff evaluation--such as a supportive and non-threatening classroom climate, which is valuable in itself.

The dilemma is clear. Most of the easy and inexpensive measurements

give results that are only remotely related to the things we want to measure. The more on-target the measurement is, the more expensive.

8.42 Formative and Summative Evaluation

Scriven's terms, "formative" and "summative" evaluation (1966, pp. 2-8), are now well accepted in the literature. While only one of the two types of evaluation may be desired in some cases, it is usually desirable to have both types. Formative evaluation, as the name implies, is to improve the process of development or operation and thus provide a better outcome. Summative evaluation speaks to the question of how good the final outcome is.

Both professionals and amateurs may undertake both forms of evaluation. Insiders and outsiders may also perform both kinds of evaluation, although formative evaluation seems to be a more natural domain for insiders and summative evaluation for outsiders.

8.43 Bases of Comparison

Two bases for evaluating programs were discussed in Section 8.21, above--program-based goals and externally-based goals. Other bases include comparison of a program with other programs of a somewhat similar nature and comparison of a program with a pre-existing program or situation at the same locale. Both of the latter can be pertinent and useful bases of comparison, if relevant measures of evaluation are available for the subject program and for the program or programs with which it is compared. Amateur and/or inside evaluators, and even outside evaluators, who have participated in two programs being compared, can provide useful evaluative insights that may go beyond explicit measures that are available as means of comparison.

8.44 Recommendations

It is recommended that an IIS evaluation model

11. Avoid all evaluative measures based on inputs; concentrate its attention, including experimental and developmental efforts, on measures of outcomes; but without completely discounting possibly useful evaluative measures or judgment based on processes.

12. Employ both formative and summative evaluation in most cases.

13. Make substantial use of comparisons between programs of a similar nature, and of evaluators who have the opportunity of observing or participating in two or more such programs.

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8.5 How to Measure?

8.51 Casual Observations vs. Controlled Experiments

The conditions of observation and measurement for purposes of evaluation can be put on a continuum according to the degree of control and design of the experimental or evaluative aspects of the program. Figure 4 represents

Figure 4 - Evaluation Design

such a continuum. At one extreme there are casual observations of programs--teachers, students, or observers saying, "That worked pretty well." At the other extreme is the highly designed and controlled experiment, with appropriate control groups, pre-tested instruments, and the most advanced analytical methods. In between is a continuum of varying degrees of design, instrumentation, and analysis.

As with Figure 3, the inexpensive measurements in Figure 4 are at the left, the expensive ones at the right. If the controlled-experiment end of the spectrum gives more reliable results, which it probably does, it does so at increased expense.

While critical research events may justify a complex and highly controlled (and very expensive) experimental design, it is unlikely that evaluation efforts, unless closely linked to critical research, often justify such measures. Evaluation experts who formerly advocated the same kind of hard-nosed, tightly designed methods for evaluation as for research have in recent years moved away from this stringent position (to some extent, in research as well as in evaluation design) to a posture that accepts more naturalistic settings and more commonplace instruments.

While "casual observations," particularly if made by untrained, uninformed, and uncaring individuals, can hardly be defended as a basis for good evaluations, it seems likely that the potential value of relatively simple observations with simple instruments has been neglected. Experienced, intelligent, concerned observers who have had some basic training in the theory and methodology of evaluation may provide much useful evaluative data at relatively low cost.

8.52 Instruments

Figure 5 shows four common types of instruments, in order of general

difficulty and expense of application, from left to right. While there can be quite different levels of sophistication (and expense) in designing each of these types of instruments, it is probably true in general that observations are cheaper and give less direct evidence of what has happened to students in an educational experience; that questionnaires and interviews give more information and also cost more; and that tests give the most direct and relevant information, and cost the most, particularly if a value is placed on the time of the learner. (By tests, we refer to tests designed to show change that has occurred as the result of educational experiences, not tests given to show what a learner knows at a point in time.)

Figure 5 - Instruments

What all specialized fields of education need, and all of them lack, are procedures for (1) assembling (from all possible sources) and selecting test instruments that might meet their needs, (2) developing instruments that are needed and cannot be found elsewhere, and (3) accumulating and analyzing experience data--in particular, data on cost and effectiveness--on all instruments in use and relevant to the particular field.

8.53 Recommendations

It is recommended that an IIS evaluation model

14. Provide leadership in the assembling of evaluation instruments and procedures relevant to intercultural education, in constructing instruments and procedures that are needed but not available, and in accumulating information on the cost and the effectiveness for particular purposes of instruments and procedures in use both in its own projects and at other locations. The emphasis would be on instruments and procedures that are inexpensive, unobtrusive, and can be used effectively by amateur evaluators, although this emphasis would not exclude some work with more sophisticated and expensive instruments and procedures.

8.6 Recapitulation of Recommendations

The recommendations made at the end of each of the preceding major subsections are brought together in the following list. IIS evaluation should:

1. Place primary emphasis on a "responsive," interactive type of evaluation.

2. Undertake measures to reduce the defensiveness of program or project directors toward evaluation.

3. Make cautious use of the principle of comparing cost-benefit ratios. (This is not a euphemistic way of saying it should be ignored.)

4. Consider, in rare cases of major or particularly important projects, the undertaking of (a) parallel and independent evaluations, and, more frequently, (b) evaluation of the evaluators.

5. Put primary emphasis on program-based evaluation, but devote some resources to externally-based evaluation.

6. Promote the use of some evaluators in the role of consultants who will assist program directors and participants in identifying, clarifying, revising, weighting, and synthesizing goals.

7. Assert the duty of evaluators to make judgments and recommendations.

8. Provide roles for both amateur and professional evaluators. Amateur evaluators should be trained in the theory, techniques, and viewpoints of evaluation, to facilitate their work both as evaluators and as program staff. Professionals should be used as consultants in devising evaluation programs, as trainers of amateur evaluators, as sources of information on the availability and usefulness of particular evaluation instruments and techniques, and as part of the evaluation personnel for the most important and most extensive programs.

9. Use inside evaluators routinely, and outside evaluators when feasible.

10. Begin planning and implementation of evaluation procedures early in the conceptualization and operation of all programs, as a concommitant to the training and use of program staff members as evaluators.

11. Avoid all evaluative measures based on inputs; concentrate its attention, including experimental and developmental efforts, on measures of outcomes; but without completely discounting possibly useful evaluative measures or judgment based on processes.

12. Employ both formative and summative evaluation in most cases.

13. Make substantial use of comparisons between programs of a similar nature, and of evaluators who have the opportunity of observing or participat-

ing in two or more such programs.

14. Provide leadership in the assembling of evaluation instruments and procedures relevant to intercultural education, in constructing instruments and procedures that are needed but are not available, and in accumulating information on the cost and the effectiveness for particular purposes of instruments and procedures in use both in its own projects and at other locations. The emphasis would be on instruments and procedures that are inexpensive, unobtrusive, and can be used effectively by amateur evaluators, although this emphasis would not exclude some work with more sophisticated and expensive instruments and procedures.

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APPENDIX A

CONFERENCES ON INTERNATIONAL/INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

Participants in May 4-5, 1972, Conference - sponsored by the Institute of International Studies, U. S. Office of Education.

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